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ABSTRACT

The three sociological studies included in this report provide a description and analysis of family and kinship, and neighborhood and community variables that affect lower class children's readiness and competence to enter into formal education. Study topics are: (1) Kinship and Socioeconomic Status, which examines home to school transition and the clash of public and private cultures; (2) An Ethnography of a White Workingclass Community, a description of life in a white, lower class, semi-rural community; and (3) Problems of Competence Development Among Ghetto Residents of a Middle-sized City which defines "competence" as a social dimension and therefore considers that input from family, neighborhood, and community severely limits the part that formal schooling can play in the development of competence. Appendixes contain data collection forms and tables used in the kinship study. (MS)

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FINAL REPORT
Volume III of III Volumes
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RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM ON PRESCHOOL DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

Community, Kinship, and Competence

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Office of Education
Bureau of Research

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PREFACE

The studies and data presented in this report aim at two objectives. First, is curriculum development and evaluation; second is research on social and psychological factors in the intellectual functioning of culturally disadvantaged children.

Under the overall direction of Dr. Merle Karnes a number of highly qualified investigators have pursued these objectives with diligence and ingenuity. Furthermore, they have, in important instances, pursued objectives to conclusions which are at the very least provocative. To many they will be startling and disturbing. Thus the sociologists, Farber, Lewis and Harvey conclude in Volume III:

> Technical emphasis in educational reform (particulary that which is intended for the dispossessed) may preclude any possibility of educators making a positive contribution to the obliteration of the social and economic injustices which victimize millions of Americans...Technical emphasis in education, as it is in welfare services, is a symptom of a condition which may be termed progressive status-quoism.

Volumes I and II deal largely with the first objective, curriculum development and evaluation, and as such are excellent examples of the highest quality of the "technical emphasis" to which the sociologists on the team refer. In Volume I, Karnes, Hodgins and Teska attack such concerns as the relative effectiveness of five differing methods of preschool educational intervention with the disadvantaged child. Other concerns are to determine how long such special intervention must be continued, the optimum age for intervention, and, how much can be done by paraprofessionals in the classroom and by mothers in the home.

In Volume II, Bereiter, Engelmann, Washington and colleagues describe efforts to burrow deeper into the processes and products of educational intervention on behalf of the disadvantaged. Taking the view that the Stanford-Binet may be considered as an achievement test for the "hidden curriculum" of the middle-class home, they boldly set about to construct a compensatory curriculum geared to the Binet, and to test the curriculum. In so doing they throw new light on the criticism that substantial I.Q. gains in programs for the disadvantaged are merely a result of "teaching for the test." In another section Bereiter grapples with the theoretical complexities of interpreting changes in I.Q.

Volume III deals almost exclusively with the description and analysis of family and kinship, neighborhood and community variables that bear on children's readiness and competence to enter into formal education. Farber examines this transition from home to school in the perspective of the necessity of articulation and accommodation of private and public cultures. He posits that where private and public culture clash those families and individuals whose way of life is incompatible with the public culture are superfluous population. Harvey describes life in a white, lower class, semi-rural community. Because his frame of reference is the same as that of Farber and Lewis, his findings extend the implications of the total report beyond the question of racial differences. Lewis presents a sociologically derived model and definition of "competence." For him, competence is a social dimension and in that perspective input from the family, neighborhood, and community sets severe limits on the part that formal schooling can play in the development of competence.

This is a multi-disciplinary multi-volume work which on the one hand undertook, with success, to add to our knowledge of educational curricula and techniques which enhance the academic performance of culturally disadvantaged children. On the other hand, an equally important objective was to inquire into factors which underlay the intellectual functioning of children. In these volumes we are confronted with the cruel paradox that acceptance of conclusions arrived at in pursuit of the second objective, raises grave doubts as to the value of present day endeavors aimed at the first objective. Resolution of this paradox will not be for the timid.

William P. Hurder
Director, Institute for
Research on Exceptional Children

Acknowledgments

Part I

It is impossible to acknowledge individually the assistance of everyone who ought to be mentioned--the parents who participated in the study, the interviewers, the research assistants who edited the interviews and coded the data, my colleagues who were responsible for the preschool programs. However, my gratitude to several people is so great that I must publicly thank them: Mrs. Audrey McNattin, who was field director for the study; Jerry Gagerman, who supervised the coding of data; Charles Mindel, who was responsible for the computor work; and Mrs. Sharon Cook, who as secretary saw the project through from grant application to final report. I am also thankful to my co-researchers Dr. Michael Lewis and David L. Harvey and especially to my wife Annette for intellectual stimulation, patience, and criticism at all stages of the study. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to the following organizations for their cooperation: Community Day Care Center, Cooperative Nursery School, Jack and Jill Play School, Peter Pan Day Care Center, and the University of Illinois preschools.

In the report, the section "Public Culture and Private Cultures" is taken, with minor revisions, from my Mental Retardation: Its Social Context and Social Consequences.

This research was supported in part by Public Health Service Research Grant MH-07346 from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Bernard Farber

Part II

I am in debt to many people. I would first like to acknowledge my gratitude to the people of Potter Addition. The cooperation, toleration, and friendship which they extended to me made this work possible and my job enjoyable.

I would also like to thank Dr. Bernard Farber and Dr. Michael Lewis. Their ideas are represented in this work as much as mine.

My wife Bev provided assistance, sympathy, and support without which this study could not have been completed. She was deeply involved in all phases of the research and collected data to which I could never have had access otherwise.

Finally, I would like to thank Mrs. Sharon Cook and Mrs. Judy Gagerman for their tireless secretarial effort in transcribing the taped interviews.

David L. Harvey

Part III

I would like to thank the following people for their special contributions to the research reported here. Dr. William P. McLure, Director of the Bureau of Educational Research at the University of Illinois made it possible for me to continue to have needed secretarial assistance after grant funds had run out. I would also like to thank Dr. McLure for providing me with amenable research facilities which eased the completion of this work. Mrs. Audrey McNattin worked with such talent and energy that she ought to be credited with much of what we have accomplished. Aaron Donsky was particularly helpful as a research assistant. Arthur Davis, Jr. contributed much to the success of the data collection as a field representative in Phase I. Mrs. Annette Farber provided invaluable assistance and did so on a volunteer basis. My wife Eleanor Lewis has provided valuable editorial assistance in the preparation of the manuscript of this report. Mrs. Sherrie Denton and Mrs. Linda White have provided excellent secretarial assistance keeping track of a myriad of details and by so doing freeing me to devote my attention to the analytic problems of this study.

Michael Lewis

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Summary

The three sociological studies included in this report focus on community and kinship relations relevant to educational problems of the lower class. The general approach taken is that in highly industrialized societies, the interdependence of the educational, economic, and political institutions requires a public culture to maintain efficiency of communication, rational organization of personnel and machines, and planning of future operations. Coexisting with the integrated network of social relationships are small, fragmented, somewhat autonomous groupings that have bases for existence outside the public culture. Those people whose ways of life are incompatible with the public culture are superfluous population; if anything, their private worlds--their private cultures--generally inhibit the smooth operation of the major economic, educational and political institutions. The studies of Champaign-Urbana reported in this volume indicate how these private cultures are perpetuated and how they influence the socialization and education of the urban poor.

Part I. Kinship and Socioeconomic Status

The study in Part I of this report deals with some aspects of the relationship between kinship and socioeconomic status. The data used as a basis for analysis were drawn from three sources, two studies dealing with community organization in Negro and white slums and the third specifically with family and kinship. Two hundred and thirty-nine families participated in the study of family and kinship organization. The community studies are described in the second and third parts of the report.

The analysis in Part I distinguishes between domestic and structural symbolic aspects of kinship. Domestic aspects of kinship are those which emerge in the course of living together; structural aspects of kinship are those which are defined in terms of descent, generation, sex, and affinity. These characteristics, as well as information about specific relatives, help to identify the community position of an individual and his family. Community position, in turn, contributes significantly to the individual's participation in the institutions of the community--its economic life, schools, politics, and so on.

In general, the analyses indicated a greater tendency for families at higher socioeconomic levels to emphasize structural aspects of kinship in interacting with relatives. This emphasis

is reflected in various findings--(a) a greater proclivity of persons at higher socioeconomic levels to use kinship terms in addressing relatives toward whom they feel close, (b) deterioration of relationships with the father's kin at low socioeconomic levels, and (c) a greater amount of information at higher socioeconomic levels about relatives' occupations.

A further analysis of responses from parents with children in an experimental preschool program revealed that emphasis upon structural aspects of kinship was associated with a sustained increase in IQ. These analyses included both base interpretations and statistical comparisons.

The data revealed that although lower-class populations interact with relatives to a considerable degree, they generally show little regard for structural kinship characteristics. That is, lower-class populations pay little attention to such factors as generation, sex, or relationship by affinity in their reference to and interaction with their relatives.

This inattention to structural aspects of kinship appears to create problems in interaction, particularly in maintaining authority in the family. Moreover, status-differences between married and nonmarried persons have little significance and affinal ties are generally subordinated to consanguineal relationships.

Since structural distinctions in kinship are of little importance among lower-class groups, the establishment and maintenance of kinship and community relationships must occur on a different basis. As domestic aspects of kinship are dominant among these populations, liking or disliking persons becomes the basis for interaction. This emphasis on affect and eroticism as motivation for interaction interferes with the development of "instrumental" orientations toward other persons. Continued emphasis precludes repression of sexual or affective aspects of relationships which is necessary for acquiring experience and skills associated with achieving and maintaining community status. Accordingly, continual development of "intellectual" competence has little significance for these lower-class populations.

One conclusion to be drawn from this study is that kinship organization as a cultural entity may have a profound influence upon the preschool child's intellectual development. Possibly, the relative success of some preschool programs in raising the intellectual performance of "disadvantaged" children can be attributed to kinship and community factors rather than to the programs themselves.

A second conclusion is that preschool programs take into account the inverse relationship pertaining to early-childhood emphasis on sex differentiation (maleness versus femaleness) versus that on age-grading.

Part II. Potter Addition: A Workingclass Urban-Fringe Community

Part II of this report presents an ethnography describing the life of a white, lower class, semi-rural, unincorporated community located on the fringe of Urbana, Illinois. The ethnography has been prepared with a focus towards understanding the relationship between educational institutions and the lower class community.

Data were collected during a one year residence of the writer and his wife in the community. Techniques of data collection used were: (1) participant observation, (2) in-depth tape-recorded interviews with inhabitants, (3) the collection of tape-recorded autobiographies, (4) analysis of documents, and (5) interviews with selected persons outside the community.

The findings may be summarized as follows:

1. Potter Addition, in that it is located on the fringe of Urbana, is in many respects isolated from the operations and surveillance of public institutions of the city. This physical isolation and the social exclusion by the larger community have created the foundations for the emergence of a distinctive subculture.

2. The life of the community, its social structure, and its suspicious orientation towards the outer world and the public culture were found to be shaped by both a poverty of resources and a capricious and variable input of resources. On the basis of the findings in this study and of comparative data on institutions which operate in variable environments, a model was constructed by which propositions about lower class life could be deduced: The life of the lower-class community was seen to be a set of organized responses by which members of the community came to cope with highly variable economic and social environments.

3. The variable environment placed certain restraints and restrictions on the complexity of groups in the area. Groups of a low order of structural and functional complexity were found to be the most effective forms of adaptation to the variable environment. This report suggests that the proliferation of many lower order, primary-based, non-hierarchically arranged groups was made necessary by the cost of interaction imposed on people operating with few resources in an environment where the ability to predict the success of encounters was very low. It was assumed (and data bore out the assumption) that the cost of interaction was minimized by restricting such interaction to groupings of a homogeneous nature.

4. The most stable and enduring units were kinship groups and matrilaterally augmented families. The skills and techniques needed to maintain these elementary structures in the face of a variable environment were generally affectively-based. Primacy was allotted to an individual's ability to develop techniques whereby he could express solidarity within primary groups. This primary group emphasis prevaded not only daily interaction but also served as an interpretive base by which to judge the activities of rational bureaucratic institutions.

The main problem facing these groups was that of boundary maintenance. Interpersonal skills and perceptions which could "close off" the group from other groups were the main foci of interaction. Such skills as high verbal ability, ability to take the role of a wide variety of others, and the development of skills by which relationships between various groups could be articulated were not valued or rewarded. Thus skills learned in the formal educational setting had little relevance or support in the community context. To this extent the schools did not meet the needs of the child. They instructed the child in a set of non-salient techniques which, while being a precondition for academic success, had little bearing on what was needed to survive in the lower class community.

5. Very little in the occupational world of men supported the basis for loyalty to the school system. The unstable relationship of many males in the community to the occupational setting provided little support for seeing work in the context of orderly careers. The desired occupational traits were the development of a proliferation of wide ranging but shallow skills. "The good male" was a man who was a "jack-of-all-trades." As such, utility of orderly and stable careers, while verbally acknowledged to be superior, was not a practical orienting theme in the actual behavior of individuals. Hence, it may be concluded that the social, economic and community activity in everyday life provided few rewards which validated the need of the child to adjust and succeed in school.

6. In that the population of Potter Addition was excluded from the institutional and economic nexus of the larger community, sets of strategies and adaptations were adopted which decreased dependence on the rational and bureaucratic ordered institutions of the larger society. Alternative techniques of survival were chosen which constituted the circumscription of modal American norms and values. Heavy reliance was placed on kin and friends to compensate for failure in the economic and occupational market places. The assumptions of interaction were not group-oriented but rather individualistically-oriented. The display of individual traits which optimized operations in the world of the deal, of the barter, of the trade was highly valued. The acquisition of objects

through the bargain and the deal was a constant theme of interaction. The give and take of individuals locked in "combat" during such trading and bartering sessions gave economic activity a certain ritual aspect. That is, the means of acquiring necessary or desired objects often took on greater meaning than the acquisition of the object itself. Thus the community provided not only a set of independent resources for economic survival but it also supplied areanas for competence display. In these arenas competencies were rewarded which would not otherwise have been rewarded in the public domain.

7. The population of Potter Addition has been stigmatized for twenty years. Much of the stigmatization had its sources in the 1940 influx of southern rural migrants. These people and their life style became a constant source of threat and economic burden to the institutions of Urbana. Their dealings with the legal, welfare, and educational institutions of Urbana soon earned them the label of "low life" and "white trash." As such, the violent and deviant behavior of a portion of the population of Potter Addition have represented a constant threat to the efficient attainment of institutional goals.

The major response and orientation of the educational system to the people of Potter Addition has been consistently one of defense rather than one of service. The schools have sought to minimize the disruptive effects of academically inept and unmotivated students rather than to deal with the social and community roots of such traits. First, isolation at the grade school level, along with a relative deficiency of resources vis-a-vis other districts in the school system have been one way of handling this problem. Large amounts of money are not risked on a group of children whose chances of meeting institutional standards are low. A second technique by which the school has protected itself is the formation of special classes. The special classes are devices by which the more disruptive and inept students can be isolated from other students, and classroom efficiency can be maintained.

At the high school level such protective devices are no longer effective as the lower class child is now forced to compete on the basis of more universalistic criteria. Since his preparation has been poor, and there is little in the community which rewards academic excellence, it is only a matter of time before the child becomes alienated from the education process and drops out. Since the defense of the educational institution by formal allocation of resources is less effective at the high school level, a set of informal and unwritten codes become the main protective strategies for the high school. It is not considered the school's job to keep the child in school. In the past the practice has not been to encourage the lower class child to return to school once he has made the decision to drop out. Indeed, in several instances the school personnel have been discretely discouraged from encouraging the child to remain in school. To bring the child back into school is only to reintroduce a disorganizing element back into the classroom setting. Given the assumed academic focus of the school system, the child from Potter Addition is a member of a superfluous educational population.

8. Officials justify strategies developed for their own protection by stigmatizing deviants. Due to the closed nature of Potter Addition and the need of dominant institutions to protect themselves from the members of that community, the tendency has been to label all residents of Potter Addition in an identical manner. Thus we have the foundations of the definition of community based on the exclusionary tactics of dominant institutions.

9. Community in Potter Addition lies only in the eyes of external agencies. The restrictive effects of the variable environment preclude or heavily discourage the development of structures above the family or kinship level by which a sense of "community" can be built. The definitions of reality, pictures of the outside world, and responses to stigmatic labeling are formulated at the lowest levels of social structure. Because there are no collective bases for consensus of definitions or combating of stigma above the family level, stigma are rarely dealt with at this level. Usually stigmatization is reacted to only when members of the kin group run afoul of various agencies in the public culture. There is no development of collectively-based supra-family structures by which the threat of stigmatization and predation can be dealt with. Because of failures of collective action the population remains highly vulnerable to the prejudicial and discriminatory activities of the larger institutions.

Thus a series of factors operate to impede the progress and adjustment of the Potter Addition child to not only the school but to most public institutions. The skills needed to survive in the lower class context, if learned well, create certain perceptions and actions within the lower class individual which preclude full participation in the public culture. If the child is to succeed in the public culture, he must not only learn the appropriate behaviors which allow him to operate successfully in that culture, but he must also unlearn all those perceptions, orientations, and activities which contribute to his day-to-day maintenance in the lower-class community. Because of the exclusion of the individual from the public culture via the process of stigmatization, he has little access to the full complement of skills needed to work in the public culture. In a similar manner due to the possessive and anti-public culture ideology of the private culture of the community, he is given little encouragement to learn skills which would separate him from the life style of Potter Addition.

Part III. Problems of Competence Development Among Ghetto Residents of a Middle-Sized City

This study attempts to analyze the problems of the ghetto in a middle-sized city confront with regard to the development of conventional competence. The investigation is informed by the logic-of-influence model developed in an earlier investigation of the same phenomena in a slum-ghetto of a large metropolitan area. The logic-of-influence model posits that the development of competence depends on a configuration consisting of (1) the efforts of formal competence agents, i.e., teachers, social workers, youth workers, etc., (2) the competence cues emanating from the individual's immediate neighborhood environment, and (3) the competence milieu in his family. When the configuration is integrated in its positive impact the potential is greatest for the realization of competence potential; when it is integrated in its negative impact the potential for competence development is at its lowest. Variable configurations intermediate to these polar types increase or decrease (as the case may be) the potential for the realization of competence potential.

After three years of intensive research our study concludes that all levels of influence in this community--formal competence agents, the neighborhood milieu, and familial competence milieu--operate to impede rather than enhance the development of conventional competence among the ghetto residents. The formal competence agents impede their own effectiveness by adopting inappropriateness styles of intervention; styles which engender and sustain excessive social distance between the agents and those with whom they are working. The deprived character of the ghetto engenders and sustains competence default and status incursion among many of those who live within it. Consequently, the competence cues characteristic of the neighborhood and the family run counter to conventional expectations in American society.

Given the serious contextual impediments to competence development, questions are raised with regard to the advisability of attempting educational and welfare innovations in this and similar communities without at the same time attempting social political and economic reform. Two reform models are presented and reasons are given for the recommended adoption of the permissive community separatism model.

Introduction: Multi-Dimensional Man in One-Dimensional Society

The relationship between community life and the school has been of much concern in recent literature dealing with problems of the poor. The perspective of the studies included in this report differs from that ordinarily held by educators. Generally, the school problem is seen by educators as one in which *familial* deficiencies are translated into *intellectual and educational* deficiencies. The line of reasoning ordinarily taken is that: (a) the basic patterns of learning are developed in infancy and early childhood in the family, (b) if members of the family are deficient as teachers or role models, the child will be deficient in his learning habits, (c) therefore, if these learning deficiencies are to be erased, the competence of parents as teachers and role models should be increased, (d) however, if nothing can be done about parental competence as teachers and role models, school curricula should be revised to compensate for these deficiencies. A major assumption in this line of reasoning is that the institutional arrangements in the community--schools, businesses, government, welfare agencies, and so on--cannot be modified drastically to solve the learning problems generated in these families. Given this constraint, any attempt at eliminating the deficiencies must be restricted to working with the individual children either in school programs or in the context of the family.

The three sociological studies described in this report are based on a somewhat different line of reasoning. In this investigation, the problem is seen as one pertaining to acculturation in modern society.

Public Culture and Private Cultures (Farber, 1968, pp. 103-118)

In highly industrialized societies, large-scale social networks develop to integrate the major institutions of that society. Industrial and political bureaucracies require particular kinds of behavior for their operation. The educational system is necessarily connected with the industrial and political systems as well as with the religious organization of the society. With the diffusion of literacy, forms of worship and belief systems change, the relationship between government and the individual is modified, and more complex economic organization becomes possible (Parsons, 1966). Consequently the emergence of integrative networks of institutions evokes the need for a public culture to facilitate this integration.

The public culture required to sustain the interdependence of large-scale organization consists of norms and skills associated with efficiency of communication, rational organization of personnel and machines, planning of future operations, and maintenance of the individual's position in the system. (Position maintenance is necessary because the bureaucracy cannot operate effectively without stability of personnel in recognizable statuses.) This culture is supported by the system of rewards in the society. In American society, the distribution of rewards is justified in terms of ability of persons to perform successfully in the complex of integrated institutions (Parsons, 1940). Intelligent judgment and action are generally evaluated in terms of the system of distributive justice. In modern American society, intelligent action is interpreted in terms of the incorporation of the individual into this public culture.

Coexisting with the integrated network of social relationships and its cultural paraphernalia are small, fragmented, somewhat autonomous groupings that have bases for existence outside the public culture. The family, for example, exists in almost all societies; but, in modern society, families do not have the particular political or economic production activities that would integrate them directly into the public culture. Instead, families are incorporated this way only tangentially, through the fortuitous participation of individual members. There is, therefore, a great deal of variation in the extent to which families are integrated into the general public culture.

Those families and individuals whose way of life is incompatible with the public culture are superfluous population; if anything, their private worlds generally inhibit the smooth operation of the economic, educational, and political institutions. The extent of integration into the public culture depends in part upon various other groupings with which the family is involved. For example, the father provides the major economic support in fostering family solidarity. His absence may produce disastrous effects on the children; the intelligence of lower-class children from fatherless homes continually declines throughout grade school (Deutsch and Brown, 1964). In addition, some religious groupings have norms and patterns of conduct that are consistent with the public culture, while others are in conflict with it. To the extent that these religious groupings are consonant with the public culture, their members tend to act "intelligently" with respect to the dominant industrial and political systems. Similarly, ethnic groupings vary in the degree of their incorporation into the public culture. Some ethnic groups are characterized by norms and values that facilitate their members' successful participation in modern educational, political, and economic institutions. Others have norms and values that run counter to the norms of distributive justice of the public culture.

If it were assumed that public culture is more efficient in meeting the needs of people than deviant private cultures, the explanation for the persistence of a private culture would probably be that its proponents simply do not know better; they do not know what is best for them. The ameliorative response would then be to acquaint the children with the public culture and to stimulate acculturation by showing them how public culture is "good." This view assumes that the deviant private culture sprouts under its own power and sustains itself independently.

Alternately, it may be assumed that the public culture itself nurtures and sustains private cultures. Public culture is generally considered as having emerged to accommodate the technological, communications, and organizational developments in society. A question can be raised with respect to private cultures: How does society sustain the existence of deviant private cultures?

Private cultures seem to sustain the organization of economic, political, and educational institutions of modern society in various ways. First, by their very incompetence and deviance, populations with private cultures generate a variety of agencies to meet their legal, welfare, health, and educational difficulties. As these agencies expand in size and diversity, their elimination might produce severe economic dislocations in the society. Second, the efficient use of human beings in the basic economic, political, and educational institutions in modern society depends upon a good fit between the social and intellectual competence of persons and the slots they fill in organizations. Accordingly, there must be a surplus in the population to permit a constant rearranging of persons to maximize efficiency; this surplus permits the emergence of a set of criteria--the content of the public culture--as a basis for selection. Third, the perpetuation of social classes occurs through the inheritance of privilege and wealth for an elite; since in a hierarchy someone always has to be at the bottom, the subjugation of impoverished populations with private cultures is assured.

In those segments of the society which do not receive the major rewards of the institutions related to the public culture, other justifications must be sought for living. Mysticism, chance, and fate, which emphasize the anti-intellectual norms and values to be found in the society, must furnish explanations for events. This anti-intellectualism thus coexists with an intellectual tradition related to the dominant public culture. Since the intellectual explanations do not provide a satisfactory reason for existence for the population segment that does not receive the major rewards, this segment is stimulated to rely on anti-intellectual justification for action.

With the continued automation of industry, education, and government of society, the gulf between those who are involved in the dominant public culture and those who are isolated from it may increase. The isolation itself enhances the use of private linguistic patterns to set the adherents of the private cultures apart as a reaction to their exclusion from the public culture. There is a glorification of private vocabulary and private semantic and grammatical structures. The language of the "hepcat" as opposed to the "square" (or the "hip" versus the "straight") and the popularity of the anti-intellectual art forms thrive in the counter-cultures that develop in opposition to the public culture (Finestone, 1957). Moreover, as automation continues to expand, there is a concurrent trend toward the exclusion of the large bulk of the population from the public culture and this portion of the population feels less and less able to control its destiny. Here again, the elements of chance, disorder, and mysticism enter as factors in the outcast population's interpretation of the causation of events. In addition private cultures are not subject to the same kinds of proof or the same kind of evaluation to justify their existence. The public culture is required to be coherent and rational; however, emphasizing expressiveness social solidarity, the private culture can incorporate contradictory elements in its structure. Hence the social and cognitive processes that are basic to the continuity or persistence of the public culture need not be present in the private culture. In short, individuals immersed in deviant culture do not need to develop the capacity for intelligent judgment and action with respect to public culture.

The transformation of deviance into incompetence can occur under various conditions. The plight of the Negro families in Harlem provides one example. In his study of Harlem youth, Michael Lewis indicates that the failure of Negro family members to carry out acceptable academic, familial, and economic roles derives from the patterns of family organization in the rural South. In the southern rural culture, Negro life exists as a deviant pattern. The public white culture of the South demands the presence of a Negro private culture to sustain the social and economic structure. The Negro rural culture is one that denies social mobility to the Negro. As the Negro family moves into a community such as Harlem, the structural supports (such as white paternalism) which sustained the southern Negro culture and made it at least livable are removed. The institutionalized incapacity to develop modes of life appropriate to upward social mobility is transformed from a deviant pattern to one that is ill-equipped to meet the demands of an urban, open-class system. Family breakup, the inability to delay gratifications, and the unstable role of the male (which had been part of a deviant culture in the rural South) become a basis for personal incompetence in Harlem (Lewis, 1967).

In brief, in defining intelligence in terms of the public culture, society regards as unintelligent all those who deviate. By its structure, modern society encourages certain segments of the population to deviate from the public culture. This encouragement of deviance promotes the development of fragmentary private cultures which conflict with the public culture. The conflicting private cultures involve, by definition, unintelligent action; and, since the private cultures are reflected in individuals, these cultures impede the development of "intelligence."

Public Culture, Private Culture, and Community

The definition of the problem of intellectual and educational deficiencies among poor families as one pertaining to the socialization of children into the public culture places strong emphasis upon community life. As the community is socially stratified and subdivided into subgroups, a variety of life-styles (representing different private cultures) emerges. Some of these life-styles diverge markedly in norms and values from the public culture which dominates the classroom.

The three studies described in this report converge in their emphasis on the role of community life in sustaining life-styles which have characterized the lumpenproletariat. Although these studies differ in the theoretical constructs applied in the data analysis, each in its own way indicates how economic and social proporitions in the community, set in the particular historical context of the families (as well as of Champaign-Urbana itself), mold and reinforce socialization practices which impede assimilation into the public culture.

Part I of the report examines the variations in life-styles from the perspective of norms and values pertaining to kinship. The analysis compares ways for organizing relationships with kin among people of different socioeconomic characteristics and suggests how these are related to the socialization of children. At higher socioeconomic levels interaction of kin (and perception of them) is organized on the basis of structural aspects of kinship--notably attention to generational differences--and the social characteristics of relatives is considered important to individuals. At lower socioeconomic levels, factors associated with living together are significant in organizing relationships between kin. These differences in the organization of kinship relations seem to be related to roles in the family and to the socialization of children at various socioeconomic strata.

Part II of the report presents an ethnographic account of a white lower-class community at the fringe of Champaign-Urbana. In this community, the basic problems are interpreted as stemming from the variability of social and economic situations of the inhabitants. The precariousness of jobs, the social stigma attached to this community, the suspicion of the middle-class population all affect the life-style of the inhabitants. Much interaction is oriented toward kin who live nearby; activities are interpreted on the basis of the personalities involved (and not as expressions of bureaucratic structure or impersonal forces); personal skills related to maintaining social solidarity are valued over those required to "get ahead." The gist of this analysis is that the variable environment of the lower-class sustains a mode of socialization children in ways inimical to successful participation in institutions based on the public culture.

Part III of the report is concerned with problems in the development of competence among inhabitants of a predominantly black area in Champaign-Urbana. The theoretical model used in this analysis presupposes that the sources of competence extend from the family outward into the community. The social relationships in the neighborhood provide a bridge between the individual's family and the formal agencies of the society--the schools, businesses, civic organizations--in which people seek successful participation. Impediments to competence development can occur either in the family or in neighborhood relationships (or both). The analysis indicates how the general community operates to inhibit the development of the kinds of competence required in the public culture (a) by diverting attention and energy to activities which will impede success and (b) by isolating the black community physically and socially from experiences which would permit the development of competence.

The conclusions drawn from the sociological studies necessarily involve recommendations for the revision of communities--as well as changes in educational programs. The implication is that any educational program will be ineffective if existing life-styles continue to be sustained by the organization of the community. If so, so-called compensatory educational programs would have little meaning for the very people they would be expected to serve. Accordingly, sweeping recommendations are made at the conclusion of the report. While some of them may not be feasible, they may be necessary.

PART I

Kinship and Socioeconomic Status

Bernard Farber

The study reported in this section deals with some aspects of the relationship between the kinship and socioeconomic status among families in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois. A kinship system represents a set of meanings regarding individuals' place in society, their origins, and their destinies. From this perspective, kinship may be described as a cultural entity which knits the individual families into a network. This study examines how this entity varies according to socioeconomic status and how socialization of children is affected by this variation. Particular attention is given to families at low socioeconomic levels.

Kinship systems differ widely in the ways they relate individual nuclear families. These differences may be considered as a reflection of the diverse roles which kinship must play in modern society. At higher socioeconomic levels, the role of kinship is that of sustaining social differentiation in society, whereas among lower-class populations, the function of kinship is to maintain a *lumpenproletariat*.

However, kinship systems can be effective in maintaining a particular social-class structure only if children are socialized in accordance with this structure. Hence, norms of socialization should be consistent with the kinds of kinship systems existent in various segments of society. This study thus deals with aspects of kinship and norms of socialization at different socioeconomic levels in Champaign-Urbana.

METHODS

The data used for analysis were obtained from three sources--two dealing with community organization and the third with family and kinship. Three related studies were made in Champaign-Urbana as part of the same project, with cooperation among investigators extending to data exchange; findings of the community studies appear in the second and third sections of this report. One community study took place in a white slum, and the second in a Negro slum. Data collection for the study of kinship was city-wide. The two community studies utilized qualitative data primarily, whereas the kinship study supplemented qualitative data with extensive quantifiable information. The kinship study utilized data obtained from 395 parents (in 239 families) whose children were involved in various preschool programs, including one designed specifically for "disadvantaged children." Of the parents who were contacted, about 80 per cent of the men and over 90 per cent of the women completed at least one interview. (See Table 1 in Appendix B.) The most frequent excuse for non-participation was that of time pressures (especially for university faculty and graduate students).

Social characteristics of the respondents appear in Appendix C. Low socioeconomic families tended to be Baptist whereas high socioeconomic level families were more often Presbyterian or Agnostics and Atheists, and Catholics tended to be concentrated at middle socioeconomic levels. Relatively more low socioeconomic level respondents had been born either in Champaign County or in the lower Mississippi Valley, while high socioeconomic respondents were more often from states surrounding Illinois and Indiana, or in the northeastern United States. Low socioeconomic women tended to be younger, but men in this group showed a greater age dispersion than those at high socioeconomic levels. Finally, families at low socioeconomic levels had more children than those at high levels and more outsiders lived in the household.

FINDINGS

The findings reported in this section deal with (a) the role of symbolic family estates in social stratification, (b) kinship organization and preschool performance, (c) particular characteristics of lower-class kinship organization, and (d) the relationship between lower-class kinship organization and socialization of children.

Symbolic Family Estates

The analysis distinguished between domestic and structural aspects of kinship. Domestic aspects of kinship are those which emerge in the course of living together, while structural aspects are those which are defined in terms of descent, generation, sex, and affinity. Domestic relations are conditioned by ecological factors in family life and involve mutual assistance, and maintenance of relationships on a highly personal basis. Structural aspects of family and kinship depend upon the recognition of particular kinds of relationships in organizing kinship relations. This recognition of kinship structure is reflected in the use of kin terms in addressing relatives (e.g., Aunt Matilda, Grandma). In American society, kin terms are most frequently used to address persons in ascending generations. The significance of affinity is indicated by the use of "Mother" and "Father" in addressing in-laws.

Kinship systems as means of sustaining social stratification appear to require distinct groups organized on the basis of lineage segments. Loosely defined, a lineage segment refers to a sibling group or set of siblings groups related to one another as a descent group through a common ancestor. One of the obvious characteristics of descent groups is that they provide for the inheritance of a set of relatives who pass on a symbolic estate as well as physical property. Membership in a descent group is defined in terms of structural criteria -- sex, affinity, generation, and so on. The symbolic estate inherited by an individual includes the achievements and honor of those persons, both living and deceased, in the kinship group. The relatives of a descent group give to EGO an identity in terms of his historical roots and status in the world around him. The symbolic family estate thereby serves to define EGO's place in society.

Possibly the most valuable property of a lineage segment is its position among other kinship groups in terms of honor and status, a position defined by the content of the symbolic estate that the kinship group possesses. The role of kinship groups in social differentiation may be regarded as the perpetuation and enhancement of these symbolic estates.

In contrast to systems emphasizing social differentiation functions of kinship, those systems that stress integration functions are organized to maximize the number of marital liaisons between descent groups. By so doing, they create many sources for assistance and numerous personal ties. An open system of marriage maximizes the proportion of the adult population who marry, but provides only minimum control by descent groups, which may themselves be ill-defined, over nuclear family organization.

The two kinds of American kinship systems implicit in state legal codes may reflect the relationship between kinship organization and its function for either social differentiation or integration-- the Biblical system and the Western American system. Kinship structures appropriate to highly stratified societies would involve formal mechanisms for creating alliances between descent groups and for giving the descent groups a stake in the marriage of members. The Biblical kinship system (as implied in state codes) accomplishes both -- (a) the creation of alliances through symbolic incorporation of an individual into his spouse's descent group and (b) by virtue of this incorporation gives the descent group an interest in the welfare of the married couple. The Biblical system thus seems appropriate for sustaining a highly differentiated stratification scheme. The Western American kinship system, however, makes possible the creation of marital liaisons not only with outsiders, but also with affinals--creating a wide range of potential mates--and it does impose additional intimate-kin ties after marriage. The Western American system, hence, seems appropriate for maximizing the number of kinship networks into which descent group members can enter.

Further differences between the Biblical and Western American systems can be related to their relative emphasis on structural or domestic aspects of kinship. Theoretically, in American society legitimacy and community status are obtained by adding a paternal descent group to a maternal one. Mothers and their descent groups appear to be responsible for the custody and care of children -- domestic aspects of kinship. The role of the father and his paternal descent group is then to provide for legitimacy and community status -- symbolic, structural aspects of kinship. In the American version of the Biblical system symbolic family estates are perpetuated through the symbolic incorporation of both husband and wife into each other's descent group. (This symbolic incorporation seems to be reflected partly in the use of "Mother" and "Father" to address in-laws.) Relationships organized on the basis of the Western American system, however, rely more upon domestic aspects of kinship for their perpetuation.

The tendencies of the Biblical and Western American kinship systems to emphasize social differentiation and integration, respectively, suggest the possibility that different social strata may be inclined toward one or the other. Since at higher socioeconomic levels the role of kinship is that of sustaining social differentiation within the society, characteristics of Biblical kinship would be more prevalent at higher socioeconomic levels. Inasmuch as lower socioeconomic groups are more concerned with their integration into society, the Western American system might be more conducive to their needs.

In general the analyses indicated that there is a greater tendency for families at higher socioeconomic levels to emphasize symbolic aspects of kinship in relationships with kin. This emphasis is reflected in various findings:

a. Higher socioeconomic level persons tend to use mother and father as terms of address (terms associated with feelings of closeness) and, in this way, acknowledged at least a symbolic incorporation into the spouse's family of orientation. In contrast, for low socioeconomic level persons, feelings of closeness to in-laws were related to use of first-names in addressing them. (See Table 2 in Appendix B.)

b. After divorce, which tends to be more prevalent among lower-class respondents, ties with the father's relatives tend to deteriorate. (See Tables 3, 4, and 5 in Appendix B.) However, tendencies to de-emphasize paternal kin at low socioeconomic levels seem to derive from situational factors rather than from personal preferences. A curious situation exists among Negro women with relation to the terminology for maternal grandmother -- when respondents had known both grandmothers, the maternal grandmother tended to be called "mother" and the paternal grandmother "grandmother;"

but when only the maternal grandmother was known, she tended to be called "grandmother." Assumption of the maternal role by the maternal grandmother had little to do with this tendency. This finding suggests that the women preferred to accord the honorific grandmother title to the father's mother; when that was not possible, the grandmother title reverted to the maternal side. (See Table 6 in Appendix B.)

c. Low socioeconomic status respondents generally had less information about relatives than did middle or high socioeconomic status respondents. With regard to relatives seen at least several times a year but less than once a week, socioeconomic status seemed to make little difference. It may be noted that Negro respondents seemed to know less about the occupations of their male relatives than did white respondents. Several explanations might be offered for the racial difference -- the generally lower socioeconomic status of Negroes; the greater amount of mobility among Negroes; the high rate of divorce among Negro families. (See Table 7 in Appendix B.)

In summary, families at higher socioeconomic levels tend to emphasize symbolic aspects of kinship in their relationships with kinsmen. This emphasis was reflected in the findings on the greater probability of symbolic incorporation into the spouse's descent group, stress upon paternal kin and withdrawal from them when divorce occurs, and the more extensive knowledge about male kin at higher socioeconomic levels.

Kinship Organization and Preschool Performance

The extent to which kinship variables predict the effect of schooling on children's intellectual performance is examined in this section. This analysis consists of two parts. First, the families of Mrs. G. and Mrs. B. are compared to indicate effects of family and kinship organization on the preschool child's intellectual development. The B. child's (Binet) IQ dropped from 113 to 97, was in that part of the program described as a traditional preschool, whereas the G. child's IQ rose from 109 to 132. Second, examination is made of kinship terminology and feelings of closeness to in-laws for all mothers who participated in the study (and whose children were in the experimental preschool program).

The selection of the G. and B. families for extended discussion occurred in the following way: Eight families were interviewed for both the kinship study and for the investigation of the Negro community in Champaign-Urbana. (The interviewing took place while the children were in the preschool program.) It was noted that Mrs. B.'s child in the preschool program had the greatest drop in IQ from ages 4 (at the beginning of preschool) to 7 of any of the cases appearing in both studies. When this was discovered, the decision was made to seek the child with the greatest increase in IQ and to study that family more fully. Thus, quite by accident it was found that the family of the child whose IQ score rose most had many characteristics associated with valued symbolic family estates, while the family whose child's IQ score dropped did not. It is by coincidence that both the G. and the B. families consist of a widow who had had marital problems and who was the mother of eight children.

> Mrs. G. is a widow in her late 30's. She and her husband were separated at the time of his death about a year prior the series of interviews with her. They had been married about 12 1/2 years prior to his death. Her husband had been a construction laborer and before that had poured iron in a foundry. Like Mrs. G., Mr. G. had been born in the deep south. He was about two years younger than Mrs. G. and had completed 8 years of formal schooling.
>
> Mrs. G.'s household consists of ten people other than herself. She has eight children, the eldest born about a year before her marriage and the youngest about 6 months before the death of Mr. G. The household also includes an aunt of her deceased husband (her HuMoSi) and a man described by Mrs. G. as a boarder. Mrs. G. feels fairly close to this aunt, whom she calls Aunt Sally. This aunt has had two marriages and is in her mid forties.
>
> Except for her father, Mrs. G.'s relatives in the ascending generation still live in the deep south. Although Mrs. G. does not see these relatives often, she has a considerable amount of information about most of them and calls them by kin term ("Aunt" or "Aunt Lou" or "Uncle Steven").
>
> Although Mrs. G. and her husband were separated at the time of his death, Mrs. G. maintains contact with his relatives. While Mrs. G. does not see her deceased husband's parents often she reports feeling fairly close to them and indicates that she would go out of her way to help them. They are tenant farmers and as far as Mrs. G. knows they have been married about 40 years. Her terms of address for them are Mr. Jim and Mrs. Florence. Her husband had two brothers and two sisters, all younger than he. One sister lives in Champaign-Urbana, and the other had lived there but returned to the south. The brothers live with their parents and are still in school. Although Mrs. G. reports feeling close to both of her husband's sisters, she is closer to the one in Champaign-Urbana, whom she sees at least once a week. In addition to her ex-husband's aunt (HuMoSi) living in her household, Mrs. G. reports another HuMoSi living nearby whom she sees several times a week. She also calls this relative by the term "Aunt." Thus, Mrs. G. has maintained a close relationship with her husband's relatives despite the marital break-up prior to Mr. G's

death. Mrs. G. also has a considerable amount of information about her husband's relatives still living in the deep south as well as those residing in Champaign-Urbana.

As Mrs. G. talks about her life, she mentions numerous problems which are similar to those of other lower-class individuals. These involve premarital pregnancy, residential mobility, difficulties in marriage, and harsh and unsteady working conditions. Yet Mrs. G. and her daughter Sandy reveal life interests which differ considerably from those of other lower-class individuals. Both mother and daughter talk about their unusually heavy participation in formal organizations -- Mrs. G. in the church and Sandra in school. They view their church and school activities as things to keep them going rather than sources of tension release or fun. These organizations reflect strong, serious interests. This is the family context in which the IQ of the child in the preschool program rose and was sustained at age seven.

The B. family, in which the child's IQ dropped, may be contrasted with that of Mrs. G. Both families are somewhat similar with respect to composition and marital history of the mother; they differ, however, in the mother's relationships with affines and kinds of problems faced.

The family of Mrs. B. has many of the characteristics of the type of kinship organization which emphasizes domestic factors and suggests how this organization is related to perpetuating low community status. This family has several characteristics typical of lower-class kinship: (a) There is a wide age discrepancy between husband and wife; (b) Mrs. B. has very close bonds with consanguineal relatives but none with affines related to either of her two ex-husbands; (c) in her relationship with her husbands and with her boyfriend, Mrs. B. is dominant; (d) she has four illegitimate children, and (e) Mrs. B. and her children have severe problems pertaining to family authority.

Several aspects of Mrs. B.'s family life indicate the relationship between emphasis on domestic aspects of kinship and failure to develop an effective orientation toward education and work. With regard to kinship, Mrs. B. maintains contact only with close consanguineal kin. She has had little or no contact with the kinsmen of either of her husbands. She knows nothing about her father or his kin. On the other hand, Mrs. B. has remained close to her half-sisters and, when her brother was alive, he was "like the Dad in our home." She has depended on her sisters for assistance, advice, and emotional support.

Inquiries were made about the family a year after the interviews with Mrs. B. and her teenaged daughter Betty were completed revealed that the daughter had dropped out of school because of pregnancy. When Mrs. B. learned that Betty was expecting a baby, at first she refused to let her daughter live at home. Intermittently, Betty has lived with "other people" including her aunt, and periodically Mrs. B. relents and takes Betty back into the house.

While the contrasts between the G. and B. families may be extreme, a similar relationship was found between kinship organization and IQ change among other families. The findings on IQ increases among children labeled as "culturally disadvantaged" testify to the validity of the speculation on the importance of kinship organization for successful preschool performance. Two computations were undertaken. First, terminology used to address mothers-in-law (HuMo) was examined for mothers of children in a preschool program for the disadvantaged. Second, reports by the women concerning the extent to which they felt close to their mothers-in-law were analyzed. Although there were initially 60 children in the preschool program, follow-up IQ scores after the children had completed first grade in the public school and interviews with the mothers were available for only 41. The initial IQ score represents a Binet test given upon entry into preschool at the age of 7, after the completion of first grade.

In the first analysis, terms of address used for husband's mother were compared with changes in children's IQ from the age of 4 to 7. Terms of address used for husband's mother were classified under four headings: (1) "Mother" or one of its variations, (2) first name or nickname, (3) the forml term "Mrs." used with either the last name or first name, and (4) other. The "other" category was composed of eight women, two of whom called husband's mother "Grandma" and six of whom had never met their mothers-in-law. The findings were as follows: IQ scores for children whose mothers used the kin term "mother" or one of its variations increased on the average of 10.6 points (12 cases), those for children whose mothers used the first name or nickname in addressing HuMo increased an average of 5.3 units (12 cases), while IQs for children whose mothers used formal terminology in addressing HuMo increased only 1.6 points (9 cases). Inasmuch as people generally use the same style of address for their fathers-in-law as their mothers-in-law, there was no need to do a separate analysis of terms of address for fathers-in-law (HuFa). The analysis of kinship terminology suggested that children in families approximating the organization found in middle class groups seemed to have a better chance of upward social mobility.

The findings concerning feelings of closeness to husband's (or ex-husband's) mother were similar to those pertaining to kinship terminology. Children of women who felt definitely close to their mother-in-law increased IQ scores an average of 10.0 points (16 cases), those who felt fairly close by 7.6 points (10 cases), while those who felt distant from their husband's mother increased only 1.6 IQ points (7 cases). In 14 of the cases the husband's mother was deceased or had not been known by EGO; these increased an average of 7.9 IQ points, roughly the mean for all cases in the sample. Apparently, this last group included women whose relationships with their mother had extended over a wide range of closeness -- from definitely close to ignorance of her existence. The data on closeness thus provided additional support to the hypothesis suggesting that symbolic incorporation into the spouse's descent group facilitates intellectual development as measured by IQ. The kinds of "abilities" examined by IQ tests are associated with an individual's eventual socioeconomic status.

Other analyses were performed to determine whether such factors as marital status or race might be responsible for the findings on kinship. These results are shown in Table 8 in Appendix B. According to the data in this table, the findings cannot be explained on the basis of marital status or race. Increases for white children tend to be only slightly higher than those for Negro children. Similarly, there is little difference between the increase in IQ of children whose parents are married as compared with those whose parents are separated or divorced. Number of children in a family does seem to have some bearing on IQ increase, with a large number of children related to a small IQ increase. However, these differences do not explain IQ changes more adequately than do kinship variables.

Taken together, the findings support the contention that kinship systems which emphasize marital alliances tend to be associated with strains in society toward social stratification. Maintenance of stratification, in turn, seems to require the development of significant symbolic family estates at higher social strata.

Lower Class Kinship

Lower-class populations tend to place a strong emphasis on interaction with relatives. However, data indicated that the distinction between affinal and consanguineal kin is often blurred in lower-class kinship. Marriage between persons already related is not uncommon. In societies in which descent groups exist as formal, legal (or jural) structures or in which certain ancestors are considered as significant, marriage between consanguineal relatives might increase the solidarity of kin groups through the maintenance of alliances. However, among lower-class groups, where even grandfathers are often considered as irrelevant, this redundancy of kinship ties serves to complicate the identification of kin groups rather than to increase solidarity. As a result, lower class populations find it difficult to conform to norms of middle-class families in according special significance to affines.

Instability of marriage, high death rates, and prevalence of illegitimacy at low socioeconomic levels complicate kinship arrangements further in relation to uncles and aunts, to grandparents, and to children. The absence of paternal grandparents in matrifocal families creates deviant relationships with grandparents.

The data also indicate a tolerance of illegitimacy among lower-class respondents. This tolerance implies that the importance of stable marriage is minimized. Interview data revealed competition existing between spouse and consanguineal kin for EGO's loyalty. Evidence also suggests that neither premarital sex relations nor extramarital sex provides a sufficient basis for entering into or breaking off a marriage. Although the legitimation of children appears to provide some motivation for marriage, more important is the maintenance of a domicile for these children.

Talcott Parsons (1955) has pointed out the significance of sexual exclusiveness in marriage. In order to develop an instrumental orientation in "work situations" erotic-affective motivations must be repressed. The absence of an orientation toward sexual exclusiveness in marriage operates, according to the Parsons position, to de-emphasize symbolic aspects of kinship for evaluating work and community activities. Accompanying this nonexclusiveness of sex is an apparent breakdown in traditional role differentiation between husband and wife. The data suggested that husband-wife roles in decision-making may be affected, with the husband being at least as affectively oriented as the wife.

The failure of a strong husband-wife coalition to develop or to be sustained seems to be related to other family characteristics. The data portray a general family disunity associated with a lack of residential isolation and a failure to develop consensus on generational differentiation in family roles. The older generation seems to be faced with the same kinds of problems as the younger generation -- residence, courting, childbirth and childrearing, illness, job holding, and divorce. In an unskilled social stratum where most people have similar personal and family problems regardless of generation, no one can claim special knowledge accruing with age. There does not seem to be a shift in self-concept from child to adult. The minimal generational differentiation seems related to an inability to maintain authority in the family.

The long chain of consequences growing deriving from the complexities of lower class kinship ends with the implication that the system is oriented toward maximizing the member of kinship liaisons rather than toward developing categories of relationships clearly demarcated by age-status and affinity.

Kinship and Socialization

Kinship organization among lower class families may be related to norms relevant to the development of intellectual competence. In this study, the kinds of data used to examine this relationship did not lend themselves to a statistical analysis. Case material was garnered as evidence to support the investigator's observations. The findings on socialization are thus weaker than those described earlier, but their plausibility and consistency with the previous material lend credence to interpretations made.

The connection between kinship organization and socialization in lower class families in the following set of statements represents a distillation of conclusions drawn from an examination of about twenty extensive case histories:

1. Failure to incorporate marriage partners into their spouse's descent group symbolically blurs generational distinctions in family interaction: ages between husband and wife vary widely, lines of authority in the family are impeded, and roles of household members are confounded.

2. With generational distinctions blurred, there is little reason to regard marriage as an important change in status: the woman may already have at least one illegitimate child; the bride and groom may have been living or sleeping together over a period of time; the marriage may represent a second or third try for the bride or groom; there is a high probability of marital breakup. Consequently, affinal ties are subordinated to consanguineal relationships.

3. The de-emphasis of marriage and affinal bonds diminishes the importance of symbolic family estates in maintaining family and other personal relationships. Instead, eroticism and affect become the basis for establishing and maintaining interaction: Marriage does not require sexual exclusiveness, and there is generally no need to depersonalize work activities. From a developmental

viewpoint, this continued emphasis on affect and eroticism precludes repression of sexual or affective connotations in acquiring experience and skills associated with achieving and maintaining community status and the establishment of valuable symbolic family estates.

4. The pervasiveness of eroticism and affect influences age-graded norms: Codes related to sex differentiation are taught to lower-class children generally before acceptance of postponement of gratification, and greater importance is attached to them. Loyalty to friendship groups and interest in erotic and affectional relations may then override considerations involving postponed gratification. (See Tables 9 and 10 in Appendix B.)

5. Given this emphasis upon the biological aspects of man, the typical conception of human nature is that man is essentially an animal. As such he needs to be loved and nurtured as well as trained and domesticated. His familial obligations to consanguineal relatives are rationalized and his warm feelings toward them justified. Furthermore, since a child is essentially an animal, the initial distinction to be made refers to the fundamental biological dichotomy--male and female. This conception of human nature is consistent with the tendency to teach children sex differentiation early in life, and it supplies him with a motivational scheme that will serve him throughout his lifetime.

6. Given this conception of human nature, experience does not result in a transformation of man; he is essentially static, and the tricks that he learns do not change his essential nature. The initial wildness in man is still present even with domestication, ready to erupt when constraints are discarded. Continual development of competence has little significance in this conception of human nature.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has suggested a connection between kinship organization and intellectual competence. The pervasiveness of eroticism and affect and the prominence of norms related to sex differentiation in lower-class family life are in marked contrast to the discipline and delayed-gratification (i.e., age-differentiation) norms at higher socioeconomic levels. These norms, in turn, seem to be associated with kinship organization.

The findings indicate that personal discipline and adherence to delayed-gratification norms function to develop and maintain symbolic family estates. Preschool disadvantaged children whose parents give evidence of developing viable symbolic family estates are able to conform more readily to intellectual expectations in school.

As experimental preschool programs are evaluated, it seems necessary to include an analysis of the family and kinship background of the children who participate. Ordinarily, in evaluating these programs, some perfunctory attention is given to father-absence or number of siblings, but little study is made of the family and kinship contexts as cultural entities. This study has indicated that the kinship organization may have a profound influence on the preschool child's intellectual achievement. Possibly the relative success of one preschool program over another in raising the intellectual performance of "disadvantaged" children can be traced to variations in family and kinship organization of participants rather than to differences in the programs themselves.

An implication of the study for preschool programs is that the training of teachers and the development of curricula take into account the differential emphasis on sex differentiation and age grading in lower-class family and kinship organization. Rather than being functionally independent of one another, both characteristics seem to be related to the development of norms pertaining to delayed gratification. Stress on maleness or femaleness from early childhood provides for a mode of immediate expression of feelings and behavior; age grading, however, connotes the accumulation of privileges as the individual grows older, and it implies the inhibition of feelings and behavior which conflict with learning conduct appropriate to age-graded norms. Preschools could attempt to provide a foundation for developing concepts of privileges associated with achievement of age-graded conduct; at the same time, they could minimize sex differentiation for the children. Although contradictory norms in the home and community will probably diminish the effectiveness of these modifications, the effort may be significant for those children already on the margins of middle-class life styles.

PART II

An Ethnography of a White Workingclass Community

David L. Harvey

This study is part of a larger project which explored the relationships between lower class social structure, kinship, and community life as they effected the school performance of the lower class child. It was carried on in conjunction with Bernard Farber and Michael Lewis, both of the University of Illinois. This report is in large part, a joint product and should be seen as an integral part of a larger study. Data and ideas were freely exchanged between the researchers over a two-year period. This study of a lower class white community thus complements Lewis's analysis of a black ghetto and Farber's more general and over-arching analysis of lower class kinship. While the results of this study in large part reinforce the findings of Farber and Lewis, there will be, needless to say, variations and differences in the findings and suggestions for remediation. It is the conviction of this writer that such variations are due to the nature of the communities studied than to any clear contradiction arising from methodology and interpretive style.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study was to prepare an ethnographic picture of the life of a white, lower class, semi-rural, unincorporated community of about 300 persons located on the fringe of Urbana, Illinois. The purpose of this research may be broken down into three distinct areas. First, there does not exist in the literature at this time an intensive study of white lower class community life and its connections to the public institutions of the larger society. Secondly, this project was undertaken at the urging of Farber and Lewis in order to acquire comparative ethnographic data which would provide a comparative base for Lewis's study of the black ghetto. Thirdly, the main point of all three studies was to explore the relations of educational institutions and lower class life as they were shaped in the lower class context.

This report will not focus on the elaborate presentation of detailed ethnographic data. The description of community life will be made in order to provide the reader with background material with which he can evaluate the relation between community and school. On this basis then, this paper will be organized into the following sections:

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1. The methodology employed by the study.

2. The brief presentation of a theoretical model of lower class life.

3. A finding section which will include the following:

   (a) physical description of the community
   (b) brief description of the area
   (c) the economic foundations of community life
   (d) an outline of community social structure
   (e) stigma and the generation of community
   (f) stigma disavowal and the ideological counter-attack of the poor
   (g) individual disavowal of the community
   (h) collective strategies of stigma disavowal and the failure of the community.

The last section will present a conclusion of the present study.

METHODS

A series of research strategies were employed in the gathering of data on community life. These strategies were: (1) participant observation, (2) analysis of documents and records, (3) extended and in-depth interviews with selected members of the community and (4) interviews from various public officials and employees of the local school system.

Participant Observation

The writer and his wife implemented the participant observation phase of this study during a one-year residence in the community. We shall call the community "Potter Addition." The activities included in participant observation were: (1) daily socializing and visitation to homes in the area, (2) visitation and "loitering" at the area's general store and many garage-junk yards, (3) a participation of the writer and his wife both jointly and individually in the few formal organizations which had their base in the community.

This phase of the study while being the most valuable in terms of data collection nevertheless, was fraught with several problems. First, the population of the community due to its history of physical and social isolation as well as other factors were highly suspicious of the writer and his wife. No attempt was made on the part of this writer to hide his intentions and reasons for being in the community. Despite such "openness," however, the writer was still feared by the population. It was constantly brought to his attention that the people expected him to "dig up dirt" and "write a Peyton Place" (Gallaher, 1964).

Therefore, the first six months of the study were relatively unprofitable by the writer's standards in gathering data. Much of the data gathered during this period have the mark of a Hawthorne effect, interaction carried on with community members was strongly shaped and affected by his presence (Landsberger, 1961). Many community members were inclined to present legitimate fronts and hide certain aspects of biographical stigma were consistently present in the research situation during this period.

During the last six months of field work, however, a portion of the population showed acceptance of the project. Rapport with these few families was excellent. In four cases the writer and his wife were more or less adopted into the family group. As we shall see later such adoption carried with it mixed blessings. Due to the social structure of the community such adoption or close alliance with one set of families automatically cut the writer and his wife off from other families. The norm of "if you are not with us, you are against us" and the denial of the validity of neutral affiliation were constant facts of life which had to be dealt with. The writer attempted to maintain close alliance with various members of the community within the limits of the above mentioned restraints. However, the familistic nature of social organization of this community was a constant source of frustration. As a result of this familistic structure approximately 30% of the households were cut off as potential arenas of data collection. While such research contingencies must bring the sampling problems, it is the writer's impression that the findings presented in this report are still representative of the community as a whole.

Analysis of Documents

During the first six months of relatively "empty" time, the writer investigated the history of the community through the use of various documents. Such an analysis during this specific period of field work was dictated by two different contingencies. First, it was felt that in order to gain an adequate picture of community life, historical analysis of the community's development was necessary. While much of the basis for this developmental analysis was later obtained in tape-recorded interviews, necessary ground work was performed utilizing non-intrusive research techniques. This was thought to be the best time for such research since during this period the researcher was in the process of introducing himself to the community. The second reason for document analysis at this time was the view on the part of the writer's neighbors that working required absention from the community. Many would have interpreted the writer's daily presence in the community as loafing. Thus, for the period from October 1967 to March 1968 the writer left the community during the morning hours and either worked in his office or in the county courthouse. The documents inspected at the county courthouse were property records spanning the years 1927 to 1965. Data gathered from this source consisted of the names of owners, residential addresses of owners, and assessed value of real property. On the basis of these documents the growth of the community was traced. A rough approximation of absentee and residential ownership status was made and later as the kinship patterns became obvious in the community, a linkage was made between kinship affiliation and property to establish ecological correlates of kinship estates.

The second source of documentary data was drawn from the city directories of Champaign-Urbana. The years covered were, again, from 1927 to 1965. Four years of city directories were missing. Using the names gleaned from the analysis of real estate records, the city directories were used to reconstruct patterns of occupational and residential mobility for those people listed as property owners. This data, as it turned out, was moderately unreliable. The number of years missing made any type of analysis based on city directory linkage highly dubious. However, some tentative generalizations made on the basis of these documents were later confirmed in interviews. In the final analysis, the data drawn from the documents were used to block out general areas of inquiry as well as to form specific hypotheses concerning community growth and migration which were later explored during the interviews.

Interviews

During the last four months of field work a majority of time was spent on the interviewing of informants using a tape recorder. The data collected represented ninety-five hours of taped interviews. The writer after weighing the pros and cons of the issue felt it best to pay informants an average of $2.50 for each hour of interviewing. It is this writer's opinion that paying respondents in no way affected the nature of the data collected during these interviews. The subjects interviewed consisted of seven women and three men. The "class composition" of these individuals as well as their length of residence, age and stage in the family cycle were varied. The only bias which could affect the type of data gathered was that these individuals had all established friendships (friendships which to this day are still intact and valued) with the writer and his wife. However, the value of such data is perhaps not that as a statistical base for making unbiased generalizations, but as intimate biographical and historical information providing detailed descriptions of lower class family life. Without statistical estimators of bias, the writer must rely on his intuition as to how representative the data collected in these interviews are of the larger groupings of people in the community. It is his belief that the data are fairly unbiased. Any such biases which may indeed be present in this data is far offset by the completeness and detail with which lower class social structure and world views were unfolded.

Interviews with Public Officials

The focus of this study was on the internal structure of the lower class community. It was felt that this would be the greatest contribution of such a study; Dr. Michael Lewis had collected data of a much more complete nature on public institutions, such as the schools and local government. Thus, interviews with people outside of the community, especially representatives of the public institutions of Urbana, were not given high priority. However, the data collected, especially as it related to the relationship between the community and the school, was sufficient to allow some degree of confidence on the part of the researcher in this data. The data which was gathered dealt mostly with the perception of various school personnel of children from Potter Addition. Checks with Lewis concerning his data on the school systems and the political structure of Urbana show enough agreement with this writer's findings that he has confidence in the data collected in these interviews.

Before leaving the methodology section, a note would be appropriate as to the writer's modes of interviewing. While the writer has had some experience at interviewing, he has considered himself an ineffective interviewer when using directive techniques. Therefore, the interviews consist almost entirely of people speaking about things that they consider important. After several hours of interviewing any one subject, a more directive technique was intermittently employed. However, such directive techniques were held to a minimum. This technique as it turned out was amazingly successful. Some of the most insightful data gathered during this period came from such open ended interviews.

A second lesson learned from these interviews concerned the problem of establishing rapport. The anxieties over status on the part of respondents was a dominant element in every beginning interview.

Such "status anxiety," however, was usually reduced on the part of the respondents by the interviewer. The anxiety was reduced by the interviewer drawing upon his own background and "confessing" about the more stigmatized aspects of his own background. This "parody" on contract therapy was extremely effective in establishing rapport with the respondent. In short, by confessing his own shortcomings and exposing his own blighted biography, the interviewer established a contract by which interviewee stigma could be discussed in a safe and unthreatening atmosphere.

Conclusions

This brief summary of research methodology has attempted to explain how data were collected in this study. It has concentrated not only on a recounting of technique but has also tried to relate succinctly some of the problems in this study. It has not talked of the personal anxiety and the tensions in the writer's family by living in a "fishbowl" admidst a group who were at best impassive and at worst silently hostile; a group which extended trust only grudgingly (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). It has not referred to the uncertainty of the research situation as it was confronted from day to day. These latter variables of the research situation heavily affected the writer's life and undoubtedly the writer's picture of community life which will be sketched in the following pages. Community researchers have only recently begun to admit to such feelings and to evaluate the effect of such confrontations on the conclusions drawn from community research (Vidich, et al., 1964). At this point, the discipline of sociology has no way to evaluate consistently the effect of such factors on the findings of participant evaluation studies. The experience for this writer was so emotionally charged that even today an attempt to evaluate the effects on such research is still impossible.

If one takes a rigid view of sociology using the model of the physical scientist, inability to deal with such intense affect-laden factors might be argued to be a basis for the invalidation of any such study. However, if one views sociology as in part being a humanistic discipline the concomitant creation of self and community, their mutual re-definition and shaping, become part of the process of ascertaining "reality."

In a broader sense, what is at issue here is the place of participant observer studies in the whole arsenal of sociological methodology. It is this writer's belief that the gap between the "humanistic" and "scientific" branches of the discipline is a spurious division. Community studies, if viewed from the humanistic approach, can be seen as valuable in and of themselves. However, if one adheres to the "more empirical imagery" of the discipline, a place for such studies can still be found. In this context, participant observer studies while sacrificing scope, still provide for the researcher an intensive encounter in experiencing the mode of life of a population. Such studies provide an intuitive insight, a "verstehen-based feel" for a subject matter which will be invaluable in the framing of hypotheses and models which may be tested with more extensive and survey based techniques of measurement (Aron, 1964, pp. 67-107).

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

The crucial debate being carried on by sociologists and social workers alike today centers around the question of whether the lower classes represent a distinct sub-culture or whether they represent merely a quantitative variation of American values and social structure (Miller and Reisman, 1961). The anthropologist Oscar Lewis, while not alone, has been the most outspoken advocate of the "culture of poverty" approach (O. Lewis, 1965). In this view the lower classes represent cross-culturally an economic underclass created by rapid industrialization and passed by in the backwash of industrial capitalism and mechanization. This "culture of poverty" as seen by Lewis is a semi-autonomous structure, isolated from the dominant institutional structures of its parent society. It represents a unique ecological and cultural adaptation of a group, which thrown back onto itself and its own resources creates a set of structures and self-maintaining protocols by which the culture of poverty is created and sustained as a "closed system." The anthropologist Walter Miller, in his study of "lower class delinquency has also argued that the lower class represents a unique configuration of social elements which is in part independent of the public institutional life of American society (W. Miller, 1958). Much of the debate as to the "cultural autonomy view" as opposed to the "quantitative deviant views" of the lower class has been developed in the literature on juvenile delinquency. Thus, Matza in his book Delinquency and Drift and in a later article, "The Disreputable Poor," strongly attacks the notion that the lower classes qualitatively vary in their desires, values, and norms from the rest of the society (Matza, 1964 and 1967). Such debates on the nature of lower class life are not merely pleasant differences between impotent academics to be debated and refuted in classroom situations. Indeed, the visions of the lower class as held by men in the social sciences at this point in history have policy implications of a most profound nature: implications which are put much beyond the academic setting.

If the poor are a problem, then how we deal with the poor must be based on how we define the poor. With few exceptions the imagery which the poor have of themselves is not a relevant factor in shaping programs which will affect their lives. From the writer's experience, when "control" is given to the poor, it is usually given under conditions of strangulating restriction and tokenism.

If we view the poor in their way of life as merely quantitative variations of modal American social structures then remediation must take the form of uplifting the poor. The poor must be seen as deviants, as unskilled, as uneducated, and as presently unfit for full participation in American society. From this viewpoint they are merely deficient, not different. Their deficiencies lie in an inequity of means and not in values which differ from those of the larger system. Once having defined the conditions of the lower class as merely "deviance of kin," programs to upgrade skills and abilities would seem to be the logical approach in dealing with this underclass. If the poor are poor one need only give them money; if the poor are uneducated, the one need only give them a head start; if the poor are unskilled, then one need only provide training for jobs; if the poor are powerless. . . but here the logic stops. Thus, the imagery which we hold shapes the solution to "the problem" of the class.

It is this writer's opinion that such a conceptualization and accompanying solution states as much about the political orientation of the remediator as it does about the state of those who are the objects of remediation. If we assume there is indeed value consensus in a society, then the problems of the poor can be solved without an appreciable alteration of the political structure of our nation.

We can dissolve the poor as a class and as a problem in a pleasant and painless way. No significant re-evaluation of social principles is required to solve the problem. It is this writer's opinion that such an approach (as embodied, for example, in the "war on poverty") has found favor among certain educators because it is the only viable response to a problem solution that can be developed by a professional class notorious for its political impotency and neutrality (if not outright reactionary posture). Indeed such a view of the lower class allows a simple solution. While programs based on the "poor as deviant" assumption may fail to meet the needs of the poor, it may nevertheless create a successful solution insofar as "successful solutions" are a prerequisite for continuing organizational viability and elaboration. Another way of saying this is the "poor as deviant" may be a myth. It may be a myth whose sole function is to allow the administrator "to act" without changing the conditions which give rise to the problems of "poverty." Like all myths, its main value lies in the functions it performs for those in power. Thus if it serves the purposes of the educator and administrator that is all that is important. Failures of organizations to meet stated goals yet to claim success by the attainment of other goals more meaningful to internal maintenance of the organization is not a new phenomena in bureaucratic studies (Cf. Selznick, 1966).

The position being taken in this paper is that the "poor as deviant" approach is just such a myth. It serves better the needs of educators (and welfare administrators) than it does the needs of those whom they supposedly service.

I have suggested that the "poor as deviant" conceptualization of the problem is an "easy way out." In what way then, we must ask, does the definition of the poor as a unique subculture present a more difficult problem for those who must administer programs to the poor. It is simply this; if we assume that there is a value concensus at all levels of social structure, then the solution to the problem consists only in the discovery of appropriate techniques needed to implement remedial programs. On the other hand, if indeed the values, and/or goals and/or needs of the lower class are indeed of a different order than those of the larger society, then the questions arises as to whose way of life shall be preserved; whose values will be implemented and even more crucial who will decide.

At this point questions of the American credo, those basic values held dear by all, emerges. Democracy becomes an issue. Should the people decide? Should "one man - one vote" be extended to a stigmatized element of the population. Whose will should prevail? - the unorganized "scum" of society or that of the administrator and the organization he serves? We have recently seen the answer in New York City. Once value consensus is no longer assumed, the dominant issues become those of power, authority, and legitimacy in organizational activity. If indeed, administrators, the technicians supreme of organizations, define the situation as one of value conflict then his role of technician all but disappears. Rather, he then becomes a modiator of values: a politician. In short, the question of politics; the question of allocation of resources; the question of who has the right to make decisions must inevitably be brought to the fore. Under this alternative definition of the situation, poverty programs no longer ameliorate, they rather destroy indigenous institutions which represent structures of lower class environmental adaptation. Such programs no longer aid the poor but indeed come to constitute a literal war on the poor. Under these conditions, the poor as a class must be destroyed.

Viewed from the perspective of such writers as Marcuse, the war on poverty, and the acts of ameliorative and service agencies become no more than mechanisms to expand ever increasing controls upon a segment of the population which until now has exhibited behavior not amenable to the rational bureaucratic manipulations of modern institutional life (Marcuse, 1964). To view the lower class as a semi-autonomous culture is to bring grave doubt about not only the goals of such programs but more important the means of various ameliorative programs. It is this writer's experience, however, that these are not seen as serious problems by educators.

They merely define the problem away. They are technicians, teachers of intellectual skills. The ends of programs are not properly defined as being in their domain of concern. These are the concerns of "higher authorities." Thus goes the war on poverty at the educational and welfare fronts.

In reality the poor are not a homogenous grouping. If we view them merely as an economic class and ignore the variations of life style, which demarcate various low income groups, then we are engaging in an economic bigotry which assumes uniformity where there is little. To treat the poor as a homogeneous class as either wholly deviant or as totally culturally autonomous is to practice bigotry of the same nature that is practiced when we use "Nigger" or utter the phrase "what do those people want?". It is this writer's hope that this research can in part contribute to the understanding of the diversity of life style found in lower class populations. It is also hoped that his study will sensitize the observer and the reader to the need to construct educational programs more closely to fit the motto "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

A THEORETICAL MODEL

Research in the last few years has indicated that the lives of the lower classes and the social structures which develop in lower class communities cannot be explained entirely by resource deficiency and lack of physical facilities. There is a growing body of literature which suggests that two additional factors play an important role in shaping lower class social structure. The first factor centers around the nature of the input of resources into the basic structural units of the community. While being poor per se, implies that little is made available to actors in the lower class situation, it is the contention of this study that the actual rate of input of various resources (i.e., money, prestige, and evaluation) is of a highly variable nature. It is this variability of environmental responses which will be the main focus for the model to be presented in this section (Cf. Cohen and Hodges, 1963). It will assume that lower class life is not generated by lack of physical resources per se. Rather, it will see lower class life as a loosely, positively organized strategy to a set of unique social and ecological conditions. It should be said from the outset that the emphasis on variable social and economic environments in no way should be interpreted as a "refutation" of the fact that the poor are poor because they do not have adequate financial assets. On the other hand, it is felt that poverty is not an efficient enough assumption to construct a model of lower class life. Indeed, the unpredictability of resource input will be seen as being as important in understanding lower class social structure as is the deficiency of those resources.

The second factor which must be taken into account is the process of social evaluation as it effects the lower class person and his self conception. From one sociological viewpoint it is this process of evaluation which generates the stratification structure of the society (Parsons, 1953). While this writer does not accept this view totally, the observations accumulated in the field have forced upon him the conclusion that stigmatization of lower class groups as part of a more general evaluation scheme is a powerful structural determinant of community life. The effect of stigma and the consequent generation of community will be dealt with in a latter part of this report. Thus, the three elements which tend to shape lower class social structures are: (1) paucity of available resources and facilities, (2) variability of input over time of those resources, and (3) the response of lower class populations to stigmatized evaluation by leaders of dominant institutions.

Variable Environments in Social Structure

In every definition of social structure, one encounters some variation of the concept "stability of behavior patterns in time and space." Thus, Radcliffe-Brown suggests that when the researcher enters the field to study social structure he should select those behaviors of individuals which are stable in time and space (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952). These represent the empirical foundations of social structure. The structure-functionalist perspective concurs with Radcliffe-Brown in that it sees social structure as centering around some set of stable patterns and expectations by social actors. Even those social scientists who have lately attacked the structural-functionalist position have constructed alternative explanations of social structure which incorporate the ideas of stability and certain constant reference points in social structure. Thus, Leach, in an attempt to construct a model of social structure in the Chin-Hills of Burma to take into account the ideological and segmentary aspects of primitive societies, has in the end suggested that structural processes represent dialectical movement between two sets of opposite and well articulated world view (or sets of meanings) (Leach, 1954).

In reality the question of stability as a central defining concept in social structure can be reduced to a set of patterns of predictable exchanges between the structure under study and various aspects of its environment. It is generally assumed that the entire process of the institutionalization of social structure centers upon a set of stable protocols which govern and normalize exchanges. It has been argued that to the extent that patterns of exchange are not stabilized and predictable, to that extent we cannot talk in the strictest sense about social structure and institutionalization.

It might be argued from the foregoing that if we assume the existence of variable environments, we cannot, in the strictest sense, discuss "lower class social structure." This need not be the case. If we assume that instability of symbolic and economic input into a social structure becomes a cognitive element in the orientation of social actors, then the non-predictability of environmental input does not necessarily deny the possibility of the existence of something called lower class social structure. Indeed, using Farber's concept of predicament it will be argued that the "perplexing problem" of environmental variability can become an integral part of the strategies of actors (Farber, 1964). We can then assume that lower class life can then be seen as an attempt to develop strategies to deal with variable environments. In this case, the unique effects of variable environments merely weakens the degree of certainty and predictability of environmental input. Thus, much of the lower class life will be seen as being positive response to create social structures in an environment whose variability they are powerless to deliminate. In the face of such powerlessness it will be argued that the lower class to an extent normalizes such variability by taking it into account and in some way encapsulating it so as to decrease its disruptive affects on group life.

Two observed traits of the lower class tend to support the assertion that lower class individuals are more vulnerable to environmental caprice than are other classes in the society. The first observation is that the lower classes are more prone to have unstable work histories (D. Miller and Form, 1951, pp. 539-605). They enter the labor market at an earlier age; are subject to longer periods of job searching behavior before they finally settle into a life occupation and are more prone to longer periods of unemployment. On the basis of the data collected in this study there is an additional variability which rounds out the general picture of this career instability. Namely it was found that in certain occupations which were heavily represented in this community, annual variation of unemployment especially in the construction industries created recurrent crisis in family life due to the uncertainty caused by fluctuation in income throughout the year.

Another factor which supports a picture of highly variable environments forming a context of lower class life are the oft-noted tendencies of lower class and to some extent working class life to fluctuate wildly between routines and thrills (W. Miller, 1958). These two factors, the inability to normalize or otherwise make predictable certain economic and social givens is seen as the crucial elements in the lower class environment.

We may hypothesize that one way in which the lower class can successfully deal with such unpredictability of the "world out there" is to place limitations on any extended type of personal commitment. In short, a successful strategy for lower class survival would be to predicate all activity on the assumption that life will be based on the minimal predictable rates of input into the group. The strategies developed under these assumptions are basically conservative. They do not validate a view of life which sanctions aggressive exploitation of the environment. Rather, the strategy is designed to check forces which could potentially overwhelm a person.

To the extent that the group does not operate on the assumption of minimal resources, crisis will ensue. If a family were to make economic commitments beyond their resources, group bankruptcy would ensue. In a similar manner on inability of the lower class group to measure exactly its potential power and prestige in social exchange would be disastrous in most cases. Since indeed power and status also represent, in some cases, variable commodities by which the group can obtain adjustment, their misreading of the environmental situation would be inadequate and precipitate a situation which would be maladaptive to group survival.

Variable Environments and Problems of Group Integration

The two basic problems which in any group must solve in order to insure its continued existence are those of integration and differentiation. Processes of integration are essentially those aspects of group structure which contribute to the unity and cohesion of the group. Differentiation on the other hand is the process by which a division of labor is established within a group so as to effeciently mediate and solve problems presented to the group by environmental challenge. We have already assumed in our model of lower class life that successful responses to variable environments and the consequent reduction of crisis situations can be accomplished by the placing of severe limitations on personal and group commitment. Another way of saying this is that individuals confronted with the variable environment will limit encounters to low risk situations, that is, to encounters which carry with them low social and economic costs when expectations are violated. Implicit in this assumption are two basic ideas. First, in that trust is the basic prerequisite for any social exchange, trust will be restricted to a very small group of individuals and situations. In order to "cut expenses" of interaction, interaction will be restricted to only the most predictable encounters. Risk then could be minimized by choosing audiences of interaction which are similar in social characteristics to those of the actor. Secondly, reciprocity in exchange situations which are built on this substatum of trust would also be restricted to relatively homogenous contexts if the cost of interaction failure were to be minimized.

We have already stated that variability cannot be eliminated. Following Coser, this may be stated another way. The group does not have available sufficient resources or power by which it can affect the environment or totally stabilize its relationship with this environment (Coser, 1965). One of the implications of the powerless nature of lower class groups is that they will be "open" systems. That is, they will not have the power to close off group boundaries clearly and hence, for any extended period, maintain boundary systems which will legitimately differentiate its structure from the structure of other groups or organizations. This inability to create a "closed system" of relations in a group, thus would make the group constantly open to various "predations." As we shall see later, the lower class family constitutes such an "open" system. In our community, household and family boundaries were constantly open and overlapping and varying in group membership. Such over-lapping made structural designation of family authority positions and allocation of responsibility very difficult. If the boundary problem is indeed the main problems of these groups, then the main set of predicaments confronting not only the family but groups at all levels of lower class social structure must center around problems of structural autonomy and identity bestowal. Thus, we may assume that the definition of who a person is and what groups have rights to his services, loyalty, etc., are problems which are never adequately solved among the lower class.

We may further assume that if such groups become "fixated" on the problems of autonomy and identity bestowals that the solution to the problem of proper structural articulation between groups is never adequately resolved. At this point the skills needed for survival in the lower-class context are not necessarily a set of interpersonal skills and pleasing personality which will allow the individual to interact in a wide variety of environments. This type of "middle-class" personality development is not relevant to the demands of lower-class life. Rather, the emphasis on limited personal commitment, the limitation of encounter to low risk situations and attempts to close off basic structural units in the community will make such skills and articulation of a highly vestigial nature. At the same time it will reward expressive and other skills which can demonstrate the fact that a person is giving unequivocal allegiance to a particular set of people.

On the basis of the above assumptions we can then state the proposition that strain will increase between segments as the structural complexity and the hierarchization of segments increase. Thus, we may assume if our chain of logic has been correct up to this point, that the integration of lower class community life will be restricted to relatively low levels of social-cultural integration. To be more empirically specific the more stable forms of association to be found in lower class communities will be either at the family, kinship, or at most peer group level (Gans, 1962). In a like manner activities of voluntary association will be of a highly non-viable nature. The coming together of people in voluntary associations will be limited by the above positive restriction of the span of trust being restricted to persons or groups of a homogeneous nature and the exclusion of strangers.

As we shall see later on the basis of this study we can suggest that the organizational life of the community is confronted with a cruel paradox. If the lower class restricts its participation to a group of people much like themselves, then the fate of any organization must be that it will fall into the hands of a ruling family, peer group, or some other socially homogeneous clique. Only on this basis can organizational tension be reduced to the extent that it can be effective. At the same time, the leadership to this type of grouping will sooner or later alienate other groupings in the community, causing the withdrawal of those families or peer groups not in power. We shall also see later that the concept of an autonomous organizational office is difficult to maintain among the lower class in our community. The separation of "official" and kinship roles is largely impossible. This inability for most organizations to institutionalize nonkinship values creates everpresent potential, destructive forces in any grouping above the core level of social-cultural integration. Thus, we would expect the associational activity of the lower classes and the ability for organization to be potentially low. The lower class would then not have available to them long-standing structures by which to fend off the predations and negative definitions of the public culture. In short, what we are dealing with is a description of a group of people which Marxists have labeled "the lumpenproletariat" (Matza, 1967). The lower class, as described by Marx in the British setting, revealed an intense nationalism and reactionary posture; extreme individualism, and an inability to organize. This description presents a similar picture of the people we are discussing.

Variable Environments and Problems of Group Differentiation

There are sufficient data in the social sciences to suggest that the degree of differentiation as well as the processes of differentiation are highly dependent on the environmentl context of the structure under consideration. The wealth of an environment has been shown to be a highly determinant factor in the level of complexity which a society can obtain.

This section will briefly indicate the general relationship between environment wealth and variability and level of structural differentiation. It will describe two extreme situations: one variable physical environments; the other showing the link between corporate size and controlled market processes.

Steward has presented data showing that not only resource paucity but also high variability of food supply was in large part responsible for the structural simplicity of tribes in the Great Basin of the United States. In fact, he demonstrates that variations in structural development and functional complexity were important factors in limiting the development of clans and political groupings among the Shoshone of Eastern Nevada. In a parallel way he has shown that the Owen-Valley Paiutes (located on the Western edge of the Basin Range Province) developed primordial clan structures, political leadership, and conceptions of property due in part to the environmental presence of a constant and adequate water supply as well as an ample supply of pinion nuts growing in the area (Steward, 1955).

Another example of the effect of the environmental stability of resource input on the potential complexity of social structure has been shown by Galbraith in his work The New Industrial State (1967). Expanding ideas found in his earlier writings, he argues that the structural complexity of contemporary large corporate structures is highly reliant on the normalization and stabilization of market patterns (for our purposes the "environment"). He argues that the implementation of a large technological apparatus and its organizational correlates is impossible in the context of the classic self-regulating market. Indeed, the self-regulating market (by its very definition) imposes certain structural limitations on the potential development and ability to plan on the units engaged in market interaction. The inability of producers to capture a large share of any given market leaves them basically at the mercy of the vagaries of market supply and demand. Galbraith argues that large corporations linked in an oligopolic relationship can persist only once a sector of the market has been captured and organized by the producing units. Another way of saying this, is that large corporate structures have as a prerequisite the destruction of "free enterprise" if the vagaries and variability of consumer patterns are to be such as to support large planning industrial units. Thus, it may be argued that the existence of complex structural units can emerge only in a protected environmental contexts where input has been stabilized in time and space.

If both the great basic tribal social structure and the structure of the large corporation are seen as extreme examples of the relationship between structural differentiation and environmental control, then it is fairly easy to place the American lower class upon this continuum. We have already assumed that group processes can be sustained in the face of variable environments only if we are allowed to assume that groups, in some degree, restrict their activity to some hypothetical minimal level of operation. For example, the populations of the Great Basic could be maintained over a long period of time only on the minimum food supplies accessible to them. Population level as such would eventually decline through starvation and disease to adjust to this hypothetical minimum of food intake. Surplus food, as reported by Steward, by and large rotted on the ground due to the inability of the "productive units" to gather such food over the short harvesting season. We have argued in a parallel manner that if a group is to avoid crisis it can do so by positing structural expectations on a minimal prediction of accessibility of resources and personnel for group activity. Conversely, a group which can stabilize resource input by exercising power over the environment, given a certain level of wealth, can develop a much more differentiated social structure. Thus, not only paucity of resources but also the variability of resource input if left uncontrolled can place definite limits on the size, function and structural complexity of social groupings.

In the face of a variable environment an expanding population with restricted access to resources would produce a proliferation of many, small, highly segmented, lower order, groups. This would constitute the most efficient response to a variable environment. Such a tendency toward proliferation due to problems arising from environmental restrictions on potential differentiation would be further reinforced by the problems of integration already discussed in the previous section. Accordingly, in our case segments whose main integrative problem would be the solution of group membership definition and loyalty would be poorly prepared to handle the integration of these small segments into higher order levels of social organization due to environmental contingencies.

The Bearing of Lower Class Characteristics on the Stated Model

The data taken to test the above conceptual model have been drawn largely from a literature review of Herbert Gans (1962) and the works of Walter Miller (1958) and Oscar Lewis (1965). The purpose of this section is to report prior findings on lower class social traits and show how such findings are consistent with propositions deduced from the above model.

One of the primary characteristics of the lower class is their tendency to draw sharp distinction between insiders and outsiders (Gans, 1962, pp. 227-228). The primary unit of demarcation is usually between kin and non-kin or peer group and non-peer group. One of the findings of this study, as we shall see, is that while such distinctions are ideally rigid, in reality, they assume a highly correlative and situational nature. That is, when families are not in opposition to each other, they are able to band together against some common threat. For example, sisters may fight with each other constantly, but the entrance of a non-kin third party is usually sufficient to link them against a "common enemy." Other "collapsing structures" might be a kin segment versus other kin segments, areas of the community versus other areas of the community, and the community as a whole against "everybody else." Thus, the tendency to create sharp distinction between "them" and "us" may be distinctive with the lower class in terms of the intensity, ferocity, and dogmatism exhibited in these situationally bound encounters. Such a finding is wholly consistent with the postulation of variable environments. The problems of identity bestowal and group autonomy as well as the proliferation of these many lower-order groups create a needed (if not an exaggerated need) to temporarily close group boundaries under conditions of threat.

In a similar way, the lack of integration above the most basic structural units can be seen to give rise to the following findings: (1) Various studies of lower class groups have shown that the level of social organization seldom rises above the family level of social-cultural of integration. Reinforced by the high risk nature of extension of trust, lower class units would show a greater tendency to spend more time with relatives and friends -- with people who are "safe" risks in the extension of trust and with whom there is much empathy (Bell and Boat, 1957; Axelrod, 1956). (2) The lower classes are notorious for their low participation in organizational life (Axelrod, 1956). This again is consistent with our postulates. First of all, interaction in voluntary associations must sooner or later require reliance on "strangers." This requires that trust be extended by the lower-class to a class of people who are more unlike than like themselves. This automatically places that lower class individual in a position where an extension of trust may not be honored and varying degrees of "social expense" encountered which might be potentially disastrous to the individual.

In addition, interaction with strangers requires certain interpersonal competencies which are neither rewarded nor developed in the ideal structural patterns of every day life as hypothesized above. Thus, to successfully operate in an organizational environment one must not only have verbal ability, he must also be able to take the role of a great many "others" who are essentially different from him. There is little in lower class life which demands the development of such elaborate skills. First, the main personnel problems of the group are dictated by needs to develop skills which show expressive solidarity with the group. We have assumed that under the conditions imposed variable environmental input, the integration of these small groups into higher order units is impossible. It would be impossible because (1) the cost of trust default is high and (2) because skills which would be used to create "bridges" to dissimilar groups have very little reason for being. Thus, it has been observed that the lower class operates within a limited repertoire of roles (Gans, 1962). This may be partially so since interaction is carried out in structural situations in which the interacting units are basically homogeneous. It has even been argued but not yet demonstrated in this country that such conditions actually are linked to the linguistic patterns of individuals. Thus, it has been argued that in the lower class context great verbal elaboration usually gives away to restricted verbal codes based on a tight set of common, implicit understandings (Bernstein, 1960).

The restriction of the individual's world to such homogeneous encounters limits both his ability to take the role of the other as well as the adoption of diverse perspectives in interpreting the actions of others outside this domain.

As we shall see later, there is a distinct tendency on the part of lower class individuals to interpret activities on a strictly personal level. One aspect of this personalization of events precludes the perspective of men fulfilling official roles and being forced by the rational order or work activity in the bureaucratic setting to do things which they do not want to do (Lipset, 1959, pp. 97-131). As we shall see later, the ability of the people in the community studied to conceptualize the concept of "office" independent of the people holding that office was a constant problem. Thus, organizational office was seen as a position of power by which personal whim and advantage could be sought (Banfield, 1958). The perception of the universalistic, affectively neutral, etc., attitudes in the performance in the official duties was either constantly denied or not seen as operant.

Thus, the structural context of lower class life as well as the social-psychological characteristics produced by such a context produces a population segment which is organizationally inept. It can neither organize, nor freely assimilate definitions of behavior which ideally, at least, operate in formal organizational settings. The world seen from the window of primary group centeredness, high, affective involvement as well as the inherent distrust of anyone outside of that group, creates a population which is highly unorganizable and distrustful of most associational life.

Such a world view is usually not altered in the educational process. By the time most children encounter experiences which would lend to a "more expanded" world view, they either have become totally alienated from the educational process or have left the educational system altogether. Indeed, the teachers most admired by the community that was studied were those teachers and administrators in the school system who had earned their "spurs" and who showed a commitment to certain children and families in the area of a highly personal nature. Inability to learn a bureaucratic definition of office through the encounter with teachers and administrators was further diminished by the fact that such encounters occurred when the family was "under attack" from the school system. Thus, by and large, the main encounter of these people with the school system (their main contact with "officials") was carried on under condition of threat and duress. As we shall see later the usual response of the people in this situation was to react in a defensive and hostile manner and to interpret the educators action on the basis of personal whim and dislike. Such an interpretation was not always wholly inaccurate.

The personalization of bureaucratic office behavior extends far beyond the educational encounter. Other studies have found that there is general distrust of government at all levels (Benfield, 1958; Gans, 1962). Personal corruption and greed are seen as the main motivating forces in the politician's life. In this study, recountings of contacts with such officials constantly validated this perspective. One could get a concession from a politician more easily on the basis of a personal relationship than on the basis of legally based expectations and definitions of that office. News reports of corruption at all levels of office holding in the country merely tended to reinforce and validate the personal experiences of the community's inhabitants.

Conclusions

The picture of lower class social structure as presented in this research is one that is closely akin to the concept of the lumpenproletariat. This class of people is marked by a lack of formal organizational ability on their part and by their recalcitrance in being organized by others. It is a group marked by a high distrust of the outer world and by a definite fear and avoidance of authority. This world view it has been maintained is usually gained from a small isolated group orientation. Anyone outside of this group is looked upon both with fear and hostility as being potentially dangerous and exploitive. For this study, however, the nature of the community context creates a certain orientation and perception of the world which creates on the population's part an inability to relate in any meaningful and profitable way to a rational bureaucratic structure. This inability then has two implications: (1) through their own experiences with such structures (as it has been conditioned by the needs of adaptation to a variable environment) they have very little knowledge or sympathy with public culture or its institutional representatives, and (2) their picture of the world and their powerlessness creates a distrust and fear of all forms of authority. Thus, they have not developed the skills by which they could manipulate such institutions for their own benefits. They have no way to get their share of the pie. At the same time, the requisites of their environment do not create needs from "normal" social skills which are prerequisites for "making it." Enduring situational contexts are not present in this restricted world in which these skills could be acquired. Thus, through the unique demands put upon the lower class to maintain some semblance of a structured life in the face of a variable environment, plus their exclusion from the knowledge to manipulate and overcome that environment, they are people who are uniquely unprepared to successfully operate in American society at this point in time. In addition it is the writer's opinion that this is one of many "vicious circles" which are so glibly referred to by those who are in charge of remedial activities directed toward the lower classes. It is the explicit assumption in this research that nothing in the internal life of the community can break this circle.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The Physical Setting

The community will be called Potter Addition. Potter Addition lies some two and one half miles southwest of Urbana, Illinois. It is a fringe community relying upon Urbana for the most part for schools, welfare services, recreational facilities, occupational opportunities, and access to economic goods. It covers an area of approximately sixty-four acres in the form of a huge rectangle, with the longer axis running in a north-south direction. It is surrounded on three sides by land which has been given over to agricultural use. The fourth boundary is formed by a small creek which in recent years has been converted into a drainage ditch for Urbana. The waters of this drainage ditch at one time supported abundant wildlife in its waters and on its banks. With the urban sprawl, however, and the pollution of the small creek, very little wildlife is now found on its banks.

The surrounding countryside gives Potter Addition a distinct rural appearance. This rural nature is a conscious factor in the life of the residents of the area. It is in large part seen as a good place to live because of the accessibility of a rural environment. The rural theme is consciously played out by many residents of the area. The visitor notes immediately the presence of livestock and relatively large gardens. These gardens range in size from one-sixteenth to one-fourth of an acre. The presence of livestock and gardens constitute a symbolic commitment to the rural roots of the population. The gardens, as well as animals raised, are used to supplement the living expenses of a segment of the population.

The presence of gardens and the raising of livestock are not the only unique qualities which present themselves to the newcomer. Indeed, more striking than either of the above features is the presence of junk yards and a high percentage of houses which are either blighted or in various states of slow decay. Within the sixty-four acre area there are no fewer than seven garage-automobile junk yards. They cover approximately ten per cent of the community's land area. They are, perhaps, the one dominant and defining feature of the community. While most of the junk yards are restricted to the southern half of the community, the largest of these is located in the center of the residential area. There is an informal conception of the natural area of the community held by many residents. The southern area, located near the Urbana garbage disposal plant, is looked upon as a "natural area" for unsightly junk yards. The northern portion of the community is indigenously defined as a residential area. The owner of the one junk yard not located in the south is object of constant friction and hostility since his junk yard is built in an area which is informally regarded as residential.

Junk yards fill the area with an imagery of clutter and decay. This imagery is further amplified by the presence of rusting and relatively ancient cars (often with windows smashed) parked in driveways, mounted on blocks at the side of houses, or parked in the back yards of private residences. The presence of these cars as well as the junk yards indicate, as we shall see later, a central life concern of the people in this area. The repair, reconstruction, and cannibalization of junk cars to create a running automobile is a central focal point of male leisure and a dominant life defining focus for males of the area.

The gardens and junk yards in the end, however, merely serve as background for the most striking feature of the community: its housing. Visual inspection of the housing perhaps tells the visitor as much about the people living there as does any other physical characteristic of the landscape. The quality of the housing varies a great deal. At the risk of overgeneralizing it can be stated that the quality of housing declines in a north-south gradient. The northern section of the community is filled with the better housing to be found in Potter Addition. The housing is, on the whole, larger and better kept up. The age of houses in the northern area is difficult to ascertain due to the phenomenal masking effects of modern aluminum siding. Many homes in this area are of the quality of housing to be found in working class suburbs. Roughly ten per cent would fit into this category.

The large majority of the housing in Potter Addition consists of small dwelling units in various states of arrested disrepair. The external features of the housing show signs for the need of paint jobs or new tar paper resurfacing. They are by and large small frame houses averaging three or four rooms. The general external appearance, however, is in a great many cases misleading; the insides of the homes are usually comfortable (if not over-crowded) living areas. The furniture in these homes vary in quality but appear to this writer to be usually older furniture and at times either secondhand or furniture which has been repaired or recovered by the residents. It must be emphasized that the writer's experience required continual readjustment of total housing imagery when the inside and outside of houses were compared.

Exposure to the community over a short period of time alerts the casual observer to other features of this "middle range" housing. There are tell-tale signs of serial processes of construction by amateurs. The telltale disconformity of eave angles and the non-meshing of walls and roofs on two separate sections of a house give evidence of the jerry-built history of these dwelling units. Often two different types of external coverings will clothe the same house. Inquiry as to the house and its history creates a series of exotic stories, stories which tell a history of men being thrown back on their own meager skills and resources and having to make do with these in order to obtain minimal shelter. The building process itself has often taken exotic turns. Several houses have been created by setting two separate dwelling units flush to each other, knocking a doorway in the common wall, tar papering the area where the two roofs come together, and increasing the available living area for a growing family.

Many of the aging residents have ceased to build on to their present housing. However, the tell-tale signs of serial housing construction which was carried on in the late 1940's and early 1950's is still in evidence. The decision to build onto a house was by and large determined by two factors: (1) the size of the family and its rate of growth, and (2) the availability of cash reserves at any given time. The buildings in a certain sense are tributes to the creative, pragmatic and "frontier-life" orientations of the population. In a great many cases construction materials were used at a moment's innovation and were usually picked up through bargaining, gifts, or at times (it has been alleged) outright "mid-night requisition."

Nowhere is the creativity and past poverty of the residents more clearly shown than in roughly the bottom ten per cent in adequacy of housing. These houses were some of the earliest built in the area. Their state has changed little in twenty years. From these houses, one can deduce that Potter Addition in its early days looked much like the Hoovervilles of the 1930's. Some examples of the housing in this grouping will perhaps clarify the point. One house consists of two railroad boxcars set parallel to each other joined by a common door and constituting a living space for five people. Another house (long since abandoned) consists of six hexagonal chicken coops joined in such a way as to create one large living area. A third example is a house which has sat on three different pieces of land in Potter Addition during its lifetime; it originally was a pigsty. Perhaps one more structure should be listed although it is of more recent origin; this is a quonset hut apartment house which houses four families. These houses represent the most exotic structures in the area.

In conclusion, the housing, the junk yards, and the gardens are accurate reflections of the people, their interests, their life styles, and their economic level. As such, the physical setting of Potter Addition when observed in even the most casual way reflects the life processes that have gone on and are still continuing in the community.

Social Demography and History

Potter Addition has been settled by three different waves of migrants in the past forty years. The first wave settled the area during the time period of 1927 to 1939. These migrants came from Urbana proper and were by and large residents of that community's "fringe" as it was defined at that time. The movement of these people to Potter Addition thus did not represent a disjunctive shift in life style. It did not represent an upward shift in their stratification position vis-a-vis the larger community. They were usually near or at the bottom of the social structure at that point in history. Nevertheless, they were still part of the Urbana social structure. Today, with a few exceptions they remain in that position.

The main goal spurring migration during this time, which spanned the depression years, was on the whole to own one's own land where it could be bought cheaply. On this land they could have a home and garden which granted them some security from the economic conditions of the times.

The second wave of migrants entered the area from 1940 to 1949. Undoubtedly the Second World War created the conditions by which the migration channels were reopened into the area. During this period a distinctively different group of people intruded into the area. They were by and large of southern "hillbilly" stock, migrating from southcentral Kentucky and northcentral Tennessee. There were surprisingly few Appalachian immigrants whose paths had followed a line from Appalachia to Akron and then to Cleveland or from Appalachia to Indianapolis and then to Chicago. The migration from southcentral Kentucky to Urbana during this period had been established thirty years earlier by the first influx of immigrants into the Urbana area. The dynamics of migration seemed to follow a distinct pattern. That is, earlier immigrants formed beachheads for others in their kingroup who would come later.

From informant reports, what attracted these southern immigrants to Potter Addition was cheap rental housing. During this time a series of ten houses had been built by a local entrepreneur, and these served as the magnet which originally drew these people to the community. The migrants first rented in Potter Addition and then bought land and housing there when times got better.

The people who came to this area were essentially "rural proletariat," little acquainted with the values, mores and expectations of the local culture. Their "low-life ways," "drunkenness," and "immorality" soon labeled them as an outcast group in the Urbana area. The reception of the migrants by the founders of the community was at best ambivalent. Since the newcomers had settled in the lower area of Potter Addition, they were isolated by a distance of some fourth of a mile from the original settlers. This distance was lengthened socially by the demonstrated difference in life-style of the newcomers. This social distance was in time shortened by the inclination of the old timers to help out others in time of need. This "help your neighbor" approach was only one factor which created a tenuous integrated community at this time. A second more powerful set of factors was located outside of Potter Addition. Contact with law enforcement agencies, welfare agencies, and the schools in Urbana soon earned all those residing in Potter Addition the name "white trash." This process of stereotyping and stigmatizing created problems of integration for the two population waves which are still seen even today. On the one hand, the old timers probably regarded the institutional stigmatization of the newcomers as both appropriate and correct. On the other hand, ambivalence was generated by the ecological and community based nature of the stigmatization. Thus, while the entire population of Potter Addition was equally classified as members of a stigmatized community, the older residential generation in its own way attempted to isolate itself in both activities and sentiments from the unacculturated newcomers.

This was the state of affairs until the middle 1950's. At this time, overcrowding within Urbana and the rise of land prices in the area created a third wave of migrants. This wave was relatively minor. The third wave consisted mainly of stable workingclass families. They were seeking home ownership and a rural environment as cheaply as possible. This group was consistently oriented towards the larger community. It took its cues and sought prestige in the eyes of the parent community. The third wave eventually began to represent Potter Addition in the councils of Urbana. Their lack of tenure in the community, their lack of deep kinship relatedness, and their outward orientation from the community, however, limited their access to acceptance among earlier residents. While this group has usually been the public front for Potter Addition, they represent in essence leaders without followers; community elites without a constituency. Thus, today they are seen by the inhabitants as being in Potter Addition but not as yet of Potter Addition.

The last major population segment to be discussed are the children of immigrants who have now been raised in the community, achieved adulthood, and are now raising their children in Potter Addition. For these people the security of Potter Addition (as it is) and their exclusion from the institutional life of Urbana have made them chauvinistic defenders of their community. In one way they know little more than Potter Addition. What they know of life outside of Potter Addition is fearful and threatening enough to drive them back into the arms of their natal community. Thus, we have in Potter Addition not only elements of social structure based on different social types, as determined by place of origin, but we also now have the beginnings of a "culture" which is being passed on to a generation of people who have known little else but Potter Addition.

Work and Career Orientation

Several writers have alluded to the tendency of lower class individuals to have variable occupational histories (Miller and Form, 1951, pp. 539-605). The occupational histories are variable in three ways. First, the early period of job trial and searching behavior is extended. Secondly, the progression of jobs taken by the individual seldom are linked in any progressive career manner. That is, they show no "internal logic of development." For example, a person may first take a job as a filling station attendant, then as a construction laborer, then as a dishwasher, and in time may end up working once more as a filling station attendant. None of the above jobs show a continuity or some internal unilineal consistency in job content nor stability in the physical situs of employment.

The above instability of work career was found to be a model work pattern for many in Potter Addition (especially in the early years of gainful employment). Usually stabilization of a person's occupation and situs did not come until his late twenties or thirties. The data have been interpreted by this writer as indicative of certain strategies developed by individuals in an occupational setting in which they have little leverage on the labor market. The leverage which might have been available to them could have come in either of two forms. First, individuals might have a skill which would allow them some form of a bargaining position on the market. If they lacked this skill, they might have been eligible for union membership, and in this case the collective leverage of the union might have accomplished some degree of job stability. However, the large majority of males in this community had neither type of leverage. Having left school early, they did not have the skills nor the prerequisites for obtaining skills which would have allowed them to stabilize their occupational life chances. Because of these lack of skills, they were usually employed by either marginal farmers or marginal entrepreneurs. Since these businesses are highly resistent to unionization, employment in these marginal enterprises deprived most Potter Addition residents of job stabilizing benefits of union protection.

In the face of such small leverage in the job market, the most efficient occupational stragegy would be not to specialize but rather to develop a shallow but wide ranging set of skills. The aims of such a strategy would not center on developing a stable career pattern within one occupational category. Rather, the primary aim of such job behavior would be merely to minimize the periods of unemployment. As such, a semi-skilled career orientation could actually be dysfunctional for these purposes. Indeed, to tie oneself to a single semi-skilled position would probably increase the length of unemployment. Thus, the needs of the lower class worker in an unaided situation, it is argued, would be diametrically opposed to the establishment of careers. Indeed, the idea of a career is that a career presupposes an orderly progression of roles would assume a stability in the occupational environment which does not exist for the lower class.

The upshot of wide ranging strategies of job seeking activities would preclude an emphasis on specialization. Indeed, it is argued that the lower class worker of Potter Addition comes to define his job worthiness not in terms of any one set of skills, but rather in terms of personal qualities such as flexibility and adaptability to a large variety of occupational situations. It was generally accepted by the people of Potter Addition that a man was better off being a "jack of all trades." While it was ideally admitted that it was better to have one job in one place for a stable period of time, the person looked up to was nevertheless the person who could do many things in a "passable" manner. This hiatus between verbalization and sanction, as we shall see, is not uncommon in many areas of life in the community.

The wide ranging, job searching strategy and the high value placed on the jack-of-all-trades was reinforced in certain non-occupational sections of life. The unstable work histories tended to exclude the individuals from full access to the cash nexus. They could not exchange cash being gained from a stable occupational career in order to employ specialist services in various other areas of activity. In the absence of large cash reserves, the person was thrown back onto his own talent and resources. Thus, there was a proliferation of do-it-yourself activities. The jack-of-all trades philosophy which served to rationalize this occupational behavior also operated in such a way that he involved himself in many "do-it-yourself" activities. If a car needed repairing, the individual, rather than taking it to a garage, would rely on his own meager knowledge and that of his neighbors to get the car back into running order once again. The same was true for house repairs, plumbing, or some other form of repair or construction.

A majority of the people in the community regarded stable occupations or professions with a mixed envy and distrust. The quintessence of occupational stability, the professional, was looked upon with both fear and disdain: fear because of the power which he held over them, and disdain because of the belief that wealth and possessions derived from the profession were somehow illgotten or otherwise illegitimate. While there were variations of this theme, the professional was usually viewed as either being dishonest or non-manly. That is, his rewards, centered on non-physical activities, were somehow "tainted." Such an orientation toward orderly careers can to some extent be written off to envy. However, the writer feels that this sentiment was also derived from a specific world view and evaluation as to what the nature of "true work" really was. The view of professionals held by much of the population may be understood in terms of the sociology of knowledge. That is, the life experiences of this group defined work, the only work they intimately knew, in terms of highly personal, "volatile" qualities which were linked to physical effort and bodily energy. Survival in their occupational jungle was accomplished not so much by specialization but by doing a great many things "moderately well." No one would deny, of course, that professional people were "better off," "smarter," etc. However, the view of the legitimacy of these rewards as they related to occupational success were never completely accepted.

This state of affairs created ambivalent situations for children. Children were constantly told to work hard in school so they could become doctors, lawyers or engineers. On the basis of my observations, however, little reinforcement was given to these verbalizations. More often than not a child would be praised more for his mechanical skills than his intellectual ability. He would be praised more often for his skill at auto repair and "fix-it" activities than he would for educational excellence. Indeed, the view of education was transmitted in a very ambivalent manner. While few would deny the virtue of a good education, even fewer had experienced in their lives positive encounters by which that education could be put to use.

Success on a job and indeed pleasure derived from a job were usually gained not from the display of technical skills but from the set of social-emotional relations with others on that job. Here again, the perception of work not as career but as short-term oriented, expressive situations tended to separate this class from what might be termed middle-class orientations. Thus, the locus of work and talent was seen to reside in the personal and bodily attributes of the actor; the idea of the worker as an efficient bearer of a specific and integrated set of skills was constantly underplayed.

We may thus conclude that orientation of the individuals towards work in our community has its roots in the unstable relationship which he experiences on the labor market. These experiences are of such a nature that they do not validate a career orientation for the lower class worker. Indeed, his experiences as to what works in job hunting and holding can only lead him to regard careerists with suspicion.

This study further concludes that the worker's approach to his work and his perception of other occupational categories cannot be written off entirely to envy or status frustration. Indeed, his encounters on the occupational market validate a certain conception of work and a world view which is deviant to the extent that it is anti-career and anti-specialist.

Consumer Patterns

The variable input of financial resources into the family was found to place households under continuous strain. Unable to sufficiently maintain themselves through channels open to the average consumer, families in Potter Addition developed a set of strategies to "make it." There was first the tendency, as noted above, to do as many things as possible which normally require financial resources to be committed to the purchase of expensive services. The individual solves this problem by employing skills found either within the family or among friends or other people in the community. What cannot be obtained by formal economic exchange is obtained through informal and personal channels. Reliance on friends, near kin, and peers for financial aid during times of economic crisis was found to be a general pattern of economic adjustment in this area. Just as personal qualities and relationships acted as supplemental buffers in competing on the job market, personal contacts were utilized to obtain funds or other types of aid during periods of shortage. Such funds were usually granted with the implicit understanding that such acts of aid would be reciprocated when the donor found himself in a future financial state of need. The perpetual nature of financial crisis did not always make such reciprocity possible. Sometimes the instrumental use of kindred and peer group members linked with the inability to reciprocate in time of need often placed kinship and peer group relations under unbearable strains. Often it would lead to serious fission within the extended family or friendship group.

The paucity of cash resources and the variability of those resources have made Potter Addition a "second-hand" culture. Much of the furniture and other family property was obtained second-hand. The quality of this second-hand merchandise usually varied. One often gained the opinion that in dealings which involved trading or barter, the object being bargained for was often of secondary concern. Indeed, to get a good second-hand object cheaply was seen to reflect as much about the accumen of the person who made the deal as it did about the utility of the object itself. There was a general motto of "why buy something new when you can get the same thing second-hand and at half the cost!" Such a motto does not point out merely ancilliary deviations of life style; rather, it more or less states the norm of consumer practices for many of the families in Potter Addition. Thus the women of the area were constantly denizens of garage sales, second-hand shops, and on occasion, Salvation Army stores. When something was bought new, it would more often than not be bought at one of the several discount houses in Urbana.

Such economic behavior cannot be classed as purely "rational" market activity. The search for the deal itself does not preclude such activities from being a rational market pattern. However, when one places as much emphasis on the process of obtaining objects as they do on the object as an end in itself, such consumption becomes more than an instrumental act. It would, of course, be possible to write this off as some deviation from normative market orientations. However, to the extent the object under exchange is of secondary nature; the acquisition process is treated as an end in itself.

In a similar way, exchange in Potter Addition takes on a "ritualistic nature." More than objects are being acquired; reputations also are at stake. The consummation of a deal may involve a personal victory; this personal triumph may be as important as the acquisition of the object. Nowhere is this dual nature of exchange seen better than in trading and "do it yourself" activities. If one repairs an automobile, he has done more than repair a machine. He has displayed a competence. A competence, by the way, for which he would otherwise not be rewarded in the everyday life of work. It may be hypothesized that the activity of trading and bartering, car repair and "handy man" work are arenas of competence display by which a man can gain recognition in the eyes of the community. Thus, the community in its consumer activities provides an arena and an alternative set of standards by which esteem is gained which could not be found in the public culture.

This ritualism reaches its greatest height with those who own horses. Here the fine art of horse trading is the perfect arena for the display of male good sense. Indeed, the vicarious joys of horse trading provide a perfect arena for the display of competencies not rewarded in the males' present occupational circumstances. At times the trading game becomes as vicious as anything this writer has ever observed. Indeed, in the eye of the horse trader the really good trades are ones in which something is put over on the other horse trader. At the risk of being flippant, it is the writer's opinion that the closer such activities verge on outright theft and grand larcency, the greater is the joy of the person consummating such a deal. James West (1945) has in essence made the same observation in his study of a small Missouri hamlet in which he also notes the propensity to trade horses and to some extent automobiles as a male leisure pastime.

So far we have probably not communicated the pain, panic, and anxiety which comes from living in a situation where incoming resources are not predictable from week to week. If, as we have suggested, people were to scale their desires down to a subsistence level, much of the problem might be alleviated. However, this is seldom possible. While some men may make as much as $6,000 a year, that salary may go to support two adults and four children and to pay off numerous debts that have accumulated. What makes things even more desperate is that much of the money may be earned during a six or seven month period. The other months are, indeed, lean. It may be speculated that such variable resource input makes long term budgeting all but impossible. How can one budget when income from week to week may vary as much as sixty to eighty dollars. When attempts are made to build up savings, which might even out the peaks and troughs of income variation, they are usually seen as being wiped out by forces beyond their control. Thus, sickness, which seems to be much more prevalent in the area than others in which the writer has lived, is a constant threat to savings. As one woman said, "We don't save anymore. We tried to when we were first married, but it seems like every time we did, something would happen and we would lose it all."

Part of the threat to accumulated savings comes from the collective demands which near kin place on the nuclear family's resources. It is not uncommon for kin and their families when in need, to live in the household of another relative for as long as four months. Their circumstances usually do not enable them to contribute to household support during these times.

Another source of strain on family resources comes from the proclivity among the young to divorce or separate. Usually the daughters then return to their mothers and receive support from their family of orientation. This variability of household composition and its openness to demands of relatives increases the variability of resource input by making it impossible to predict the needs of the household unit over a given period of time.

One source of aid which is utilized to normalize income variability is the use of credit. The one store in the area is run by a woman who extends credit to many people in Potter Addition. She, in fact, admits that it would be difficult to keep the store open if she did not extend credit. She is known, respected, and even loved by many of the people because she "carries families" during times of unemployment. It is not uncommon for families to run up bills as high as three or four hundred dollars during those periods of peak unemployment during the winter. This woman is not seen as being particularly exploitative of her customers; rather she is regarded as many as a valuable community resource.

Another source of credit is the loan company. Many are in constant bondage to loan companies. Many families in the area have not known a time for many years in which a payment to a loan company was not due. The loans are usually taken during the winter and early spring in order to see a family through seasonal unemployment. Income gained during the good months of employment usually goes to pay off outstanding bills to grocery stores, loan companies, and to catch up on back rent. By September a family may have paid off all debts except for the loan companies. By November the cycle has started over again. There is, therefore, for many families in the area an annual cycle of crisis and despair. This cycle to a great extent precludes planning and orderly allocation of economic resources (and concomitantly a stability of life style).

Presently, relatively good times have come to Potter Addition. The writer has been told that in the past almost every family in the area at one time or another has been on relief. Today, only four families in the area, to this writer's knowledge, are on any type of permanent relief. Many of the "older" families have been able to find stable employment at the nearby university. For many, life has never been so good. They will be the first to inform you of this and to regale you with personal stories of past hardships.

This infusion of "wealth" has not, however, created on the whole a marked change in life style from that of the 1940's. Many do not believe that good times are here to stay. The majority still operate with an implicit "depression" or "hardtimes" psychology. The new wealth among some of the young families has provided a new life style, but these are few in number.

What is remarkable is that this wealth has not created a convergence with urban middle-class life styles. It has rather created a condition for the accumulation of certain possessions which maintains the person's commitment to the rural way of life from which he has come.

An example of the above is the fetishism connected with land and land ownership. The "hunger for land" transcends the mundane desire of every man to own his own home. The ownership of land represents for many a base of autonomy from intruding outside forces. The ownership of land is seen as a base of security and a validation of self-worth and citizenship. The ownership of land is often a stated goal related to the rural origins of the populations. Land is something that many of these people have always wanted since the time they or their parents were hired farm laborers or when their family was driven from the land early in this century. It thus represents for many a symbolic tie to the "idyllic" rural life-style, a life-style and a way of acting in which most feel comfortable and at ease.

For others the desire for land represents an attempt to supplement their income. About sixty-five per cent of the lots in the community hold more than one dwelling unit. Many of these dwelling units are inhabited by relatives and dependents on a permanent basis (or temporarily by relatives who have fallen upon hard times). In several cases the accumulation of relatives makes the adjoining acreage almost a "clan gathering." The high rate of divorce makes land and housing a useful commodity in that divorced or separated daughters may occupy a house near the parental household. In many other cases the rent gained from extra houses is a useful supplement to annual income. However, the priority of housing needs of "down on their luck" kin sometimes takes precedence over the purely rational presuppositions of "landlording." Often such loyalty to kin decreases the income potential of property ownership.

In summary, there is a disjunction especially among the older families between what they own and how they operate in daily life. Despite this relative infusion of wealth they still look for the deal, the steal, the quick buck, the spontaneous event which results in a "killing." This is a very important part of their lives. The very survival of the deal points to a function other than the purely adaptive and economic.

The fear of a new depression or crisis, especially among many of the older residents is a constant factor which shapes their life style. The random uncontrollable mutations of occupational career and family instability is still the present reality. "Affluence" has not seemed to change this in the last twenty years. Future expectations are still posited on the postulates of variability and scarcity rather than those of affluence and comfort.

We have tried to show in this section the economic foundations upon which social life in Potter Addition is posited. Variability of physical resources, as well as their paucity, requires certain perceptions of the outside world in order to assure some modicum of survival. The openness of primary structural units creates an even more variable environment since much of the variability of resource input is co-defined relative to group and structural arrangements which themselves vary in composition. Thus there is a double variability here which shapes the economic life of the community: the variability of resources and the variability of the composition of the unit which utilizes these resources.

An Outline of Community Social Structure

1. The World of the Sexes. Men and women live in different worlds in Potter Addition. To a large extent this bifurcation has its foundations in the separate audiences to which they respond. Men are largely tangential to the relevant activity of both household and community. The arena of relevant activity for men in Potter Addition is the work place, the male leisure group, and the bar at which to drink.

The isolation of the male from the ongoing life of the community has several sources. First, the early age of marriage (about 17 to 18 years old) and the occupational instability of the young man create from the outset a vulnerable conjugal unit. His inability to validate his role in the family authority structure by "bringing home the bacon" is a constant threat to his status in the nuclear family, for his unstable employment places his family in constant need and crisis. Aid during times of employment crisis usually comes from the wife's mother. Usually the wife's family makes available housing which it owns either on a low-rent or rent-free basis. Ordinarily the mother-in-law has free access to the daughter's household and in time takes a hand in household decision making. On the basis of aid rendered, the wife's family establishes through reciprocity some basis for decision making within the daughter's nuclear family. Because of this loose integration of the two households, the family in Potter Addition seldom approximates the modal neolocal, independent, nuclear family.

While the mother-in-law's role as critic and decision making head of the daughter's household is a sporadic activity and is seldom seen as legitimate, it still nevertheless occurs. The financial leverage which the mother's family holds, the husband's demonstrated inability to provide for his family, and the definition of the household as "female territory" sooner or later excludes the male from many household activities and decision making processes.

The role of the male as head of the family is basically a perplexing one. He can be said to have authority in one way and, at the same time, to be powerless. While he is never excluded from the semblance of decision-making processes, the power of the wife and mother dyad is in most cases sufficient to override any position that he might hold on a given issue. He is caught in a double bind situation. He is expected to "rule" the household by the fact that he is a male. At the same time, however, he is seldom given a voice in the making of crucial decisions. His authority is usually circumvented by the mother-in-law.

The husband thus assumes the position of being an affine to the basic female core of relatives who constitute the core kinship structure in the community. In that he is evaluated as an affine, his main role is seen as mainly a companion to the wife. He is the sexual cohabiter, a husband, but not an instrumental leader. He is the "cock of the walk." He rules the household by substanceless fiat. His rule at times approaches tyranny and the wife will submit to his whimsical dictates and posturing. But here is the paradox: while he maintains the form of family leadership, he is constantly bypassed when issues of long range family policy arise. He is especially bypassed when decisions have to be made which deal with the children. He is in this case a basic appendage to the three generation, matrilineal dominated, family group. If one were to evaluate the powers of the father in the household, he would have to be seen as possessing a veto power. He can be a main force in the obstruction of long term decision-making processes. However, in varying degrees he is seen as lacking power or "comptence" to contribute to the decisions which affect the family's future.

In addition to the occupational factors which relegate the husband to a fairly impotent role in family decision matters, the demography of his situation contributes to his exclusion from the family. Potter Addition is inhabited by a basic core of non-mobile families. When there is mobility, it is more likely to be among men than women. There is a tendency for women to settle and remain near their mothers. Marriages are in many cases effected by the male "marrying into" the family and the community. A large portion of the kinship groupings in the community consist of multi-generational care of females married to "satellite husbands." The ease of availability to each woman of a core of potential female allies contributes to the asymmetry of household decision making processes already alluded to.

The "satellite" status of the male is symbolized in terms of reference. On numerous occasions a man will be referred to as "Sheila Stoner's husband." In this case the name Stoner is the woman's maiden name. Even after ten years of marriage many women continue to be referred to in the community by their maiden names, and the husbands are still often referred to only by their relationship to them. This and other examples suggest that there is in the community an implicit rejection of the husband as a significant member of the kinship group. He has little or no status independent of his wife. He is seldom defined in the community as the effective head of the family; this only comes in later years when he has established tenure in the community.

Thus, to understand the basic powerlessness of the husband and his exclusion from community and family activity, one may at best see it as a "conspiracy" in which kinship related factors, mobility, residential and economic contingencies relegate him to a secondary status in family and community.

2. The World of Women. Despite the increasing tendency of women to seek employment outside of the home, the world of women and the world of Potter Addition are by and large coterminus. The integration of community and female based kinship groups creates a structural core of related females which carries on the business of every day life in the community. The segmentary nature of social groupings in Potter Addition results from the fact that female kindred (and hence satellite husbands) tend to associate with each other to the exclusion of non-kin. The world of the female is relegated by and large to the task of raising children and mediating relations between her nuclear family and other significant female kindred. However, a relatively low amount of time is spent in supervising older children. As long as pre-school children are in the home, this reduces the mobility and potential hours spent in visitation. For older women, however, much time is spent visiting with other females during the day. While the usual composition of these female visiting groups is heavily biased toward kin, various other women who are not

related are also included in these groups. These female coffee groups set up patterns of communication which "integrate" the various discrete kinship groupings in the community.

The conversations which go on in these "coffee klatches" are by and large restricted to community and family related matters. Various forms of gossip are freely circulated during these daily get-togethers. The content of conversation is much like that reported by Gans in that national news or news outside the community is seldom a central focus of attention (Gans, 1962, pp. 74-104). When such matters are brought up, they are usually inserted into the conversations in order to emphasize the uniqueness or the moral superioristy of their family or of life in Potter Addition. In general the topics of conversation deal with who has gotten married, who has had children, which has occurred first: children or marriage, comparing notes on childrearing, and discussing any recent scandals.

Most of the formal organizations, as we shall see later, are female dominated. Assumption of leadership roles by older females extends to the various formal associations in the area. While men have in the past played roles in the founding of organizations, they are usually supplanted by females in a short time. The only exception to this female hegemony in Potter Addition is the Volunteer Fire Department, an activity which by its nature is the sole domain of males.

In addition to women holding key leadership posts in the family as well as the community, this female dominance is further buttressed by a diffuse unity of women in a common identity based on their sex. Thus the writer has observed several times men being "ganged up on" by a group of women in order to enforce the will of one of their number. In most public confrontations of this nature there is usually a joking relationship which pervades such interaction. However, it soon becomes apparent that while the style is in good humor, the aim of such joking is far from humorous. This tendency of women to support their "own kind" is another factor which tends to separate the world of the sexes and to limit interaction between them. The men usually avoid extended interaction with such groups of females.

While female dominance is a central characteristic of life in the community, it is by no means an overwhelming force. Certain factors limit the women's ability to be totally dominant and to act as an untrammeled critic in family affairs. First, the male is not a totally captive audience held tightly in the grasp of women and their reference groups. He does have places and groups to which he can flee to avoid the full brunt of female criticism. While a woman may at times enter these areas of the male subculure, she does so at the cost of some internal sense of dignity and proceeds at the risk of being evaluated in a negative way in the eyes of her fellow females. Going into bars to look for one's husband is looked down upon by all in the community. It is seen by many as an implicit admission that the woman has lost control over her husband and, in extreme cases, has ceased to monopolize his affection.

The second factor which ameliorates the satellite standing of husbands is the recognition of the technical legitimacy of male authority. The cloak of female dominance in crucial decision making processes is not worn easily. Many women resent the leadership roles which they often see as thrust upon them by the default of their husbands. The husband is constantly subject to some potential form of criticism by the wife for having to "do his job." At the same time many females are ambivalent since they also realize advantages of having power in running a household.

In summary the world of the sexes in Potter Addition is segregated through the mechanisms of differential association, differential areas of interests, and spatial separation of arenas for competency display of the sexes. The unique configuration working within the community creates a "de facto" arrangement by which women are dominant. At the same time such female dominance is attenuated to such an extent that males are not totally excluded from family and community processes. There should be no mistake, however, that in crucial testing of dominance during periods of crisis the woman is in a much better strategic position to enforce her definitions of the situation.

3. Family and Kinship. The discussion of the world of the sexes lays the foundation for a discussion of the family. To repeat, the modal form of the American family as suggested by Parsons is not applicable to this community. The relatively isolated, neolocal, alineal, nuclear family is found only in a greatly modified form (Parsons, 1954, pp. 177-197). The modal family type for Potter Addition is a variant of an extended family, with lineal overlapping of nuclear family units along female lines. The contingencies of "matrilocal" residence, the asymmetry of accessibility of kin skewed toward the female line, and the non-viability of the husband role especially in the early years of marriage are all central defining features of the family in Potter Addition.

A second factor which elaborates and reinforces the tendency toward matrilineal dominance is the high rates of disorganization found in these families. A high proportion of families are "broken." Either through physical absence or role default many families do not have a full contingent of family roles through which to operate (Lewis, 1967, pp. 330-368). For example, an alcoholic husband who has defaulted in his responsibilities creates problems for the organization of family life.

Upon a few occasions neither parents nor lineal surrogate carries out parental responsibilities. In these cases the collapse of the entire family would be immiment. Under such situations, a sibling of one of the parents (usually on the mother's side) may temporarily take over the parental role. However, because the uncle or aunt's resources usually are limited, the oldest child goes to work to support her siblings and assumes the parental function of the family. The assignment of such a surrogate role to the child is based more on seniority than the sex of the child. Usually the role of surrogate mother extends beyond the time that her siblings are economically dependent upon her. She becomes and remains a "mother" to her brothers and sisters as well as to her own children.

One source of default is found in the young wife's emergence as an autonomous household head after the birth of her first child. Through a series of emotional and economic ties to the mother, she may be blocked from the role of responsible adult. In essence, the young wife never sloughs off the definition of child in the eyes of the mother or, as a matter of fact, in her own eyes. Many times child raising and socialization decisions are made by the grandmother and not the young wife. In fact, in many cases the newborn's status as grandchild is more relevant than his status as child. Such a "childhood status" for the young mother forms a set of buffering relationships vis-a-vis the grandmother which encourages (if not rewards) the default of adult socializing activities on the part of the mother. More often than not, the grandmother takes over the job of setting standards by which the grandchild is raised. Since the young wife has not only an ambivalent status with her mother but also is subject to economic leverage on the mother's part, the wife seldom experiences autonomy in her own household. The young wife is in reality reduced in many cases to a position of being her children's sibling.

The role of mother, as a distinctive status, is seldom experienced as a separate status by many women. The "normally" defined role of mother is usually collapsed and absorbed into the role of grandmother. Instead of a "normal progression" of child, adolescent, wife, mother, grandmother, the life career of many females jumps from "sibling of own children" to that of "grandmother-mother." The "normal" role of mother is usually experienced by women only after their own children bear children. A woman may see herself as growing up with her own children, and she looks forward to grandchildren in order to raise a "new batch" to which she will relate as a full adult for the first time.

Many times this creates problems in the socialization of children. If a child cannot get what he wants from his parents he can often go to his grandparents and have his request fulfilled.

The doting attitude of the grandparents does little to dissuade him from circumventing parental authority. As one woman puts it, to tell the child "no" constantly and then to watch the child's grandparents accede to his requests makes her look like a "rat fink."

The high rates of disorganization suggest that the lower class family is limited in its ability to function as a "normal" family. The collapse of authority patterns, tied as they are to age grading phenomena as well as the various ambivalences of the sexually defined leadership roles in the family, paints a picture of intense family disorganization. The socialization process is impaired by virtue of the fact that parental authority has no well-defined locus. The impairment of socializing ability imposed by various combinations of default also creates additional problems in the socialization process. While we will not dwell for long on processes of socialization, a few observations on the world of the children will perhaps delineate some of the effects of family structure on the raising of children.

Children are by and large highly valued by people in the community. They are raised until the age of six or seven in a very permissive atmosphere. Not only parents but the child's older siblings continually dote over them and play with them. Kin outside of the nuclear family are also relatively available to care for and play with the child at a moment's notice. Even in those few cases where emotional neglect by the parents occurs, the effects are often offset by the child's being raised and cared for by near-kin. By the age of 12 or 13, however, the child is released from the confines of the household, and as one disapproving member of the community put it, the kids are "let loose to run wild." At this age a certain estrangement occurs between parent and child. The parents at this point see themselves as "unable to handle them anymore." The parental ability to restrict the child's behavior and activities decrease from this point onward. More and more the parent is forced to surrender his children to the peer group operating either in the school or in the community. There seems less and less sensitivity on the parents' part to take cues from various social institutions in order to judge the child's behavior in terms of his success or failure to operate in those institutions. Often the parents do not have the information upon which to make such instrumental criticism. There is a corresponding failure in many cases of the institutions to communicate adequately those standards of evaluation to these parents.

A second aspect of childrearing also fits the characteristics of the family as described above: the nature of parental guidance is of such a nature that its main aim is the control of the child.

The main job of the child as defined by the parents is to stay out of trouble, and stay out of the way of the parents. Adult interests are usually given priority when conflicts arise. This does not mean that the children are neglected. On the contrary, they are given a moderate amount of attention and, when financially possible, are given toys, candy money, etc. However, the main mode of child rearing is an attempt on the parent's part to mold and shape the child's world to fit the contingencies of the parent's needs. Such an approach to child-rearing is not unique among lower class populations in America. Kohn (1963) in writing on the socialization practices of the lower class notes such tendencies. Gans (1962) in his study of a Boston slum has also noted such findings. Indeed, much of the material on family structure presented in this study coincides with other descriptions of lower class family structure.

This particular approach to child rearing can be seen as a logical extension of the nature of the family as has been observed in Potter Addition. The stability of family roles is not great. The allocation of authority and leadership in many families (because of their openness and vulnerability from external forces) tends to produce deviant socialization practices. The various combinations of parental default make any form of guidance connected with publicly defined standards extremely difficult. Indeed, if we look at the lower class family as a group of people sitting atop powerful centrifugal and destructive forces, both in the social and economic realm, day-to-day control and maintenance of the status quo might be the only realistically obtainable goal. If this is true, then the strategy employed in meeting the economic contingencies of life might also be generalized to child rearing practices. We have already suggested that an optimal strategy in the economic domain might lie in checking potentially overwhelming economic forces in the family environment and foregoing any attempts to risk exploitation (and hence failure) in that environment. The optimal strategy in child rearing, given the tenuous nature of family authority and the lack of interpersonal resources, would be a checking or controlling strategy in childrearing. This would be an optimal strategy by which a family could "socialize" the children, and at the same time implement controls so that it could maintain its tenous integration.

Within this delimiting and boundary-setting approach to child-rearing, differences in the socialization of children occur by the sex of the child. The girl is by and large kept closer to the home than is the boy. The tolerance of the male child's deviance is greater than it is for the female child. Indeed, one of the expectations in the socialization milieu of the lower class male child is that he will be "a little devil" and show a great deal of aggressive behavior. Indeed, male aggressiveness is looked upon as a virtue in the child. It is felt by a majority of parents in the area that the ability of the male child to be aggressive is necessary if he is to succeed in the world. The girl, on the other hand, while expected to "stand up for herself" is much more restricted to the household. She will be more likely to be picked as a baby sitter for her younger siblings and will be expected to assume responsibilities of a domestic nature as early as possible.

Usually when the question arises as to why such young children must assume housekeeping responsibilities, two different answers are given. For the girl, it is seen as training which will be valuable to her in her later years when she establishes her own independent household. However, when the rationale for having young males do what is obstensively women's work emerges, the usual answer is that it will be good for himonce he gets out on his own.

Such rationales do have their validity. However, it is this writer's opinion that to a large extent these are rationalizations. For example, very seldom does a young man "get out on his own." More likely as not, he will stay in the parental household till the day he is married. In a like manner, the early requisition of the daughter's labor seems at times to be more motivated by a desperate need for aid in maintaining a household set in a crumbling structure and overpopulated with more children than the mother can handle.

The entire definition of sex roles in the family as they are tied to instrumental and expressive leadership roles presents a confused picture. Especially in those families where the absence or default of the husband has occurred, problems of sex role identity for the young males are very severe. If the father has defaulted, the mother or grandmother takes over much of the instrumental activity of the household. The father essentially holds a diminished role. In the majority of cases the young male child comes to be identified with the "degraded" father. One of the most often used phrases used to explain a child's misbehavior is that the child is "just like his father." Thus the child comes to be labeled, like his father, as "incompetent." When he marries, and especially if he marries within Potter Addition, this "instrumentally incompetent" individual may move from one female dominated household to another female dominated household. This new household may then act to reinforce this definition and the new husband does become, like his father, a male affine whose value resides in his masculinity and his potential to provide companionship for the wife.

The relative isolation of the male from meaningful instrumental leadership, beginning as it does in early childhood, starts to form the foundation for much of what was discussed in the section "The World of the Sexes." One consequence of male isolation is that the child is shielded from much criticism by women. Often while the child is defined as "instrumentally incompetent," he becomes an emotional surrogate for the father. He is thus indulged to a greater extent than the girl. A second consequence of this exclusion of the male child from criticism is that the father has neither the legitimate position nor the technical knowledge for criticizing the child's current behavior as a prognosticator of future occupational careers.

Thus a second self-perpetuating cycle emerges. The first cycle, it will be recalled, came about because of the exclusion of the male from the effective leadership roles in the family. The second cycle, we have argued, is in part rooted in the family but involves a replication from one generation to the next of work behavior and attitudes through the exclusion of the male child from effective criticism. In short, neither the information nor the values of orderly work careers is transmitted. This inaccessability to effective criticism creates the structural foundations by which instrumental incompetence as a label is continued from family of orientation to family of procreation.

4. Amoral Familism. Banfield in his book The Moral Basis of a Backward Society has identified a type of community structure which he refers to as "amoral familism" (Banfield, 1958, pp. 83-103). Essentially a community based on the principle of amoral familism consists of a proliferation of closed, semi-autonomous, kinship units. The strength of these units precludes the emergence of higher-order civic structures which can "gain a life of their own" independent of kinship structures. This type of community is not restricted to the Italian culture; indeed, it emerges as a structural type in many diverse social contexts. Gans has argued that something akin to amoral familism is a dominant structural principle in the life of Italian slum dwellers in Boston (Gans, 1962). Talmon-Garber provides a similar description of community life in her writings on the Moshavem, the kinship-dominated agricultural cooperatives in Israel (Talmon-Garber, 1962).

Amoral familism as a structural type also appears as a structural reality in Potter Addition. In this context the tendency of kin to "look out for one another" and join forces against other kin in times of crisis and confrontation is an omnipresent characteristic of life in this community. While kin may fight with kin constantly, there is nothing more effective than criticism from non-kin to cause the group to unify and to proetect "one of its own." Indeed, conflict in Potter Addition usually arises over the defense of siblings and children. There is no such thing in this community as an "objective posture" in conflicts which involve kin and non-kin. Quite the contrary, many people admitted to this writer that it did not really matter whether, for example, their child had started a fight or not. The important thing was to stand up for their children in the face of criticism from other families. If in certain circumstances their child was in the wrong, it was an easy task to recite line and verse the transgression of the other child in the past which somehow justified their child's activity. The primary and most often expressed concern of these people was the defense of household, family of orientation, siblings, and lateral kin (in that order).

In the actual behavioral repertoire of the individual, the distinction of kin versus non-kin tended to override all other stratification variables. Thus rich--poor, moral--immoral, situational justifications of right and wrong were all overridden in the name of the principle of kin siding with kin. A person who could not show a firm rooting in one of these five or six major kin groupings never fully integrated into the community.

The very definition of reality as well as the proliferation of day-to-day definitions of the situation were validated in reference to kin. The most frequent reality-testing reference group was usually the female core of women who constituted a kin group. In Potter Addition the entire idea of "objective definitions of social reality" was in most cases inoperable. Depending upon the number of kinship groups involved in any given confrontation, the reality of that confrontation would have as many definitions. These definitions were not amenable to compromise since no one in the community could assume legitimate role of mediator. Anyone who attempted to mediate was taking his reputation into his own hands. For depending upon how a potential mediator decided, he would be immediately accused of siding with one group and would alienate the other groups involved. As one junk-yard owner told me, "When I came into the area, I was given two pieces of advice. Never play around with other men's wives and never get close to any one family. I was told that if I did, I would be in hot water with all the others."

The fragmented structural arrangement of the community has other implications. First, the quality and mode of communication between individuals is definitely shaped by this amoral familism. By and large activity is restricted to one's household and visitation with close friends, parents, and siblings. When outisders enter into the interaction; a well formed front often emerges among the related individuals. Certain things are never discussed, and while kin may criticize kin, woe be to the outsider who joins in with such criticism. Usually offense is avoided by restricting conversation in both form and content to a ritualized set of procedures. When the "stranger" enters the household, he usually follows this ritual. One can usually gossip about non-kin, but such gossip can be indulged in with impunity only after several years residence in the area. It usually takes this long to learn the numerous kinship links which bind various individuals and households. One piece of advice given this writer sums this up very well. He was told by an informant, "Don't get caught up in the gossip out here. Never say anything bad about anybody to anyone because you never know when you might be talking about some of their relations." Thus the embattled kin group (usually at its lowest level of organization) forms a basis for social structure which restricts the amount and kind of information that may be transmitted between groups.

This arrangement limits the depth and type of interaction which can occur: The integration of the community above the level of isolated kinship groups is all but impossible. Trust and the free exchange of information and ideas are inhibited. The ability of these kinship groups to sustain concerted cooperative action in an open atmosphere is severely limited. If the individual is to find a free and unthreatening atmosphere anywhere, he is driven back into the kin or peer group. In such a threatening context the goal of interaction is not the accumulation of various contacts with heterogeneous people. Rather the goal of most interaction and encounters in the community is based on a principle of avoidance. One must avoid being talked and gossiped about. One must avoid public acts in front of "strangers" (i.e., non-peer group members) which will give others in the community a chance for negative evaluation. While the negative consequences of such encounters are not totally eliminated when interacting with adult siblings or one's parents, the probability is still much less that public embarrassment will occur due to exchanges which occur within this group.

5. Internal Stratification. The internal stratification of the community can be seen at best as being chaotic and particularistic. There are contradictions in the evaluative process as well as contradictions in the verbalization of evaluations as opposed to the more "private thoughts" of a person. If as the functionalists have suggested, stratification systems are based on differential evaluation of qualities which must be based upon consensus in the population, then we must state that there is little basis for consensus of rankings in Potter Addition (Parsons, 1954, pp. 386-444). Consensus on the ranking of individuals and families was impeded to a large extent by the isolated and disjunctive nature of kinship groups. The kinship grouping serves as a semi-autonomous basis for definition and testing reality. Since no standard exists upon which all kinship groups in the community can concur the realities defined are seldom congruent. Working from impressions gained in the field, the writer

tested these ideas by having eight different people rank families within the community. It was found that while there was some consensus on one or two families "at the top" and three families "on the bottom," the variation of the other seventy or so families was so great as to make their definite placement in the stratification structure of the community all but impossible.

First of all, the nuclear family, which is by and large considered as the basic unit in the social stratification literature was not treated by the evaluators as a homogeneous unit. When asked where "this family stood as far as liking and respect," husband and wife were often given different rankings. When asked to evaluate the family as a whole, several found that they could not. Many only did so after a great deal of "pushing" from the researcher. Thus, the basic unit of stratification as it has been used in numerous studies in the past was not amenable to the realities of Potter Addition.

A second problem in the "evaluative mode of class placement" which emerged during this study (not only during the formal ranking but during the participant observations) was the tendency of people to use a great many different parameters for the ranking of families. The question of "class placement" was made even more difficult by the inconsistent use of these parameters on the same individual at different times. On many occasions when a person was discussed, the basis of liking or disliking would be highly variable. The inconsistent use of parameters makes discussions of the internal stratification of the community extremely difficult. Thus, two men who might be labled as "drunks" would be given disparate rankings because one was kin and the other wasn't, or because one was old and harmless and the other was young and lecherous. In many cases the evaluation of households were made on the basis of characteristics of the female. At other times a woman would be given a low ranking because of her past or for what her mother, father, or near kin "has been in the past" (i.e., "no good").

While placement of individuals was to some extent chaotic in that no one set of parameters seemed to operate in a majority of cases, these was nevertheless within several individual's rankings a central theme: This was the person's ability to lead a "moral life." (Cf. West, 1945). This diffuse mechanism of stratification placement seemed to be the most single consistent mode of evaluation. However, there was such great inter-evaluator variance as to make even this parameter a highly dubious one for class assignment.

The main problem which confronted this researcher in mapping out the ranking system of the community was the ideology of residents that there were no classes in Potter Addition. Potter Addition was seen by the inhabitants as being populated by a relatively homogeneous group of individuals. It was often pointed out by informants that

Potter Addition was a small town, in essence a rural farming community. Undoubtedly, this was in part a reflection of the small town life from which many had emigrated. It was explicitly stated many times to the researcher that the people of the community were all "just folks." To put it another way they might have said jokingly that they were all "just hairy legged farm boys trying to please." It is the writer's suspicion that indeed evaluations were made but they were made within the cloistered confines of self or intimate groupings. To have evaluated in a pejorative and public way the various families that lived in the area would have been interpreted as saying derogatory things about other residents. Such differential evaluation would have given the individual the appearance of being "uppity," "standoffish," or "snobbish." From the writer's experiences, to be labeled these things in Potter Addition was to relegate a person to a pariah and untrustworthy status and to be cut off from informal sources of community aid, support, and approval.

In summation, the stratification system of Potter Addition as a consensus of rankings was nonexistent. Indeed, it would be difficult to talk in terms of any objective ordering of families in the area of the reality of those orderings were to correspond even remotely to the mechanisms of "class placement" employed by the population. The multitude of criteria as well as the inconsistent use of those criteria from person to person, group to group, and time period to time period, suggest that there are few stable modes of evaluation used by the people of Potter Addition. The inability to rank families as a whole also suggests that the conventional mode of stratification placement might be inoperable in this community context. The particularistic nature of kinship groups and their disjunctively based pictures of reality would also act to obscure any consensus based set of stratification variables. All of these factors then interact to create a highly disorganized stratification system. Of all the above factors, the autonomy and separateness of kinship and peer groups would seem to be the major inhibiting force in the development of a clearcut stratification system in the community.

Potter Addition and the Outside World

We have argued in this report that environmental setting of Potter Addition has to a great extent shaped the quality of life in the community. The nature of the variable environment we have argued has placed strict limitations on the degree of cooperation which is possible between groups. We have also argued that such an environment places certain structural limitations on the potential structural complexity and function of these groupings. In the face of an environment which lacks facilities and presents great variability of those few facilities the "normal" mode of relationship is posited on the sharp distinction of "insider" and "outsider."

The "insider-outsider" distinction while a correlative concept essentially tends to differentiate people in terms of degrees of openness and trustworthiness. In the face of the paucity and variability of resources continuous conflict over scarce material and social resources is the natural mode of relations at various levels of social structure. The social structure of Potter Addition has been described in terms of conflicting worlds of men and women: the struggle of the husband against the wife and her relatives for instrumental dominance; the struggle of kin against non-kin; and the conflict over reputational symbols by which competing kin-groups seek to elevate their particular group. These oppositional features are the warp and woof of social life in Potter Addition. As pointed out in the theory section of this report, the entire question of institutionalization of lower class life centers around the idea of incorporating conflicts and needs into the few simple stable structures - kinship and peer groups - which exist in the community.

We now come to the question of the relationship of the community as a whole to that of the external world. We will attempt to show that the same parameters which we have thus far discussed still operate. The various forces which express themselves in the social structure of the community seem to serve as restricting factors which order and shape the nature and potential of community response. to the outside world. They are not, however, sources of community definition; we must go outside the community to discover the sources of community definition.

What then is the problem around which "community" is organized in Potter Addition? This report will suggest that the continuing problem faced by the residents (as a group) of Potter Addition is that of handling institutionally defined and implemented stigma, which have their basis in the parent community. To live in Potter Addition is to be stigmatized. It is this stigma which is the locus of "community." The definition of community, then, is as much a function of external forces as it is common internal orientation of actors. Community is defined as much by the stigmatizing and exclusionary acts of the parent society as it is by the collective response of individuals to those acts. The basis of collective action is as much defense and response as it is positive orientation to group survival and persistence.

The next two sections will deal with the objective basis by which stigmatic labels are assigned to the populace and in addition we shall discuss the response of residents to this stigmatization. We shall attempt to demonstrate that the response to stigmatization is limited by the structural arrangements in the community. That is, we will attempt to show how variable environments act selectively to dictate the responses of the collectivity to external social forces.

1. Stigma and the Generation of Community. The basis of stigmatization has roots in the history of Potter Addition. With the influx of southern migrants a declassé group moved into the Urbana area. As such they were considered as non-persons who were not part of the social system of Urbana proper. While they filled the dirtier manual occupational niches in the community, they were nevertheless a superfluous population (Farber, 1968). By 1945 to come from Potter Addition was to be assigned the position of "low life," "immoral," and "stupid."

If we look for the sources of stigmatization in the larger community, the first thing we discover is that stigmatic images of Potter Addition are not as widespread as one would suppose. One of the more remarkable findings of this study was that a large majority of people living in Urbana were not aware of the existence of Potter Addition. The activity of Potter Additionites in Urbana has been structured in such a way as to make them an invisible class. When one goes to restaurants he does not see the dishwasher; he may pay casual attention to the person serving him the food, but note little more. When one teaches at a university he seldom notices the janitor or the construction worker who may share his world for months at a time.

On the other hand, if you are poor you do not go to the better stores to purchase things. You do not go to the air conditioned shopping malls, you rather patronize the more marginal and "cutrate" enterprises. If you enter this "world of luxury," and are from Potter Addition, you do not stay long. You look at the way you are dressed, you look at the way the clerk eyes you (are you shoplifting?) as you walk through the store, and the discomfort makes such trips unrewarding. This is not to say that people will always go to town poorly dressed. However, even in those cases of the better off families in Potter Addition, discomfort caused by painful encounters and petty slights will sooner or later keep them from entering these establishments.

If the people of Potter Addition are invisible to a large portion of Urbana, they are highly visible to educational, welfare, and legal agencies which service the city and county. Relatively high rates of crime and delinquency in Potter Addition make the people who work in the law enforcement agencies acutely aware of the community's existence. Cases of child neglect, structural unemployment, fatherless families, and the aged on relief, force the awareness of the presence of Potter Addition upon welfare agencies. If one is a teacher or a principal in the junior or senior high schools and must teach children who are academically ill-prepared, then one is aware of the existence of Potter Addition.

These agencies located in Urbana but servicing Potter Addition have become the main sources of stigmatization. They are the most feared and disliked structures in the area since they are the main intrusive elements of criticism. They are the institutions which can "get a person in trouble." Why do they stigmatize all people from Potter Addition? The answer would seem fairly simple: Certain families threaten the orderly and efficient operation of these institutions. Since these agencies have only minimal contact with the area and since the area from past encounters has found it useful to shut these agencies out, the generalizations of stigmatization to a stereotypical form is used to label the entire population of the community. Some of the "old hands" in these agencies do distinguish between different families, but they are few.

Welfare agencies, especially at the county level, are threatened by the community because of the schizophrenic world of welfare agencies. The welfare agency must simultaneously reward and punish various degrees of pauperism. To reward nonwork is to threaten the entire set of dubious assumptions which reward alienated and meaningless labor. To see a man get paid for "doing nothing" when one must work at a job which he finds boring and irksome is more than the "good worker" can tolerate.

The child from Potter Addition is a threat to classroom order and a constant source of non-retrievable expense. His academic non-productivity and "acting up" in class makes him a poor bargain for a school system. The conditions which generate the "poor bargain" however, are only partly rooted in the school. First, the aims of education in the school system is to produce a product that is academically capable and, ideally, adequate in the handling of abstract ideas. Life in Potter Addition, however, does not reinforce the goals of the school. For the child's world in Potter Addition is one of objects not verbal elaboration, cars not poetry. The world of Potter Addition is one of restriction of the child's activity, not free flowing creativity. The world of Potter Addition is one of variable resources and chaos, not progression and career. What is needed to adapt to the life of Potter Addition is seldom taught in the schools. What is needed to succeed in school is seldom available to the child in Potter Addition.

Even if the material in the classroom and the goals of the school were salient, the child from Potter Addition would still be in trouble. The facilities and the teachers in the lower grades to which Potter Addition children are exposed are below the average for Urbana. This has been acknowledged by the schools for years, yet remediation has been wanting. When the child reaches high school, the hiatus between community and education system is large. Special classes for the slow learner and the retarded are no longer adequate buffers by which the school system can assure its efficient operation. The "personal attention" of the earlier grades give way to more impersonal evaluation. The child moves from a person-oriented atmosphere to one of achievement and competition. Progressive alienation with the educational system begins to manifest itself in the early years of junior high school and usually peaks with the child dropping out of high school.

Until the child drops out, however, he is a continual problem for the school. He is seldom a teacher's favorite because he does not perform adequately and is a "behavior problem" in the classroom. He is a child whom the school could better do without. He is isolated from the student elite and finds very little in school life which gives him pleasure. He is in essence a child which nobody in the school needs. The children of Potter Addition as well as many lower class children become a surplus population in the school (Farber, 1968, pp. 3-23).

The child in the end is more a detriment to the resources of the school than he is an asset. Special classes as we have said, are no longer adequate. The importation of new counseling programs which are structured to deal with the needs of the lower class child have not existed long enough to be properly evaluated. However, they reach the child only at the later stages of his alienation from school.

None of the above special programs adequately protects the school and its personnel from the disruptive presence of the Potter Addition child. A more convenient tactic has been used in the past. That tactic is to drive the child from the school through a "back door." Under the democratic ethos, one cannot openly drive a child from the school. However, the individualistic aspect of this philosophy does not require that the personnel in a school be responsible for keeping that child in school. On the basis of these two principles, informal arrangements have been established in the past in which the problem children of Potter Addition, once they leave school, are not encouraged to return. It has been the informal practice for mary years for some officials to do nothing to encourage the child to remain in school. The school thus informally protects itself and its efficient operation from the disruptive lower class child of Potter Addition.

So far, by using the schools as an example, we have attempted to enumerate the characteristics which predispose the child from Potter Addition to be labeled as a deviant, with the suggestion that the motivation of persons who do the labeling is the desire to maintain an efficient educational system. But why is such labeling allowed to occur? If there is value consensus in a society, then the act of labeling is a fairly cut and dried matter: The stigmatic label is seen as legitimate by both parties. However, if the designation of deviance is a bartering process, then we must explain why there are no countervailing structures to protect the child and more generally the residents of Potter Addition from such labeling.

In the case of the schools the parents may be the only countervailing force against such a labeling process. Through collective action such as parent groups, "voting in" sympathetic school board members, or through individual defense of one's child, such countervailing structures can be created. However, the parent cannot usually offer protection to the child in these matters. He has very little knowledge of what goes on in the classroom at the school. He is forced to accept the teacher's or the administrator's definition of a given situation. When confronted with contradictions in the child's story and the teacher's story, he will often defiantly act on the principle of "protecting one's own." In a great many instances a parent has seen the administrator's acts as meaningless, arbitrary or even unjust. Even at times when it is obvious that the teacher or administration is taking an unfair position, the parents will not be able to defend his child. The writer has seen the lower class individuals, haunted by his own sense of educational inferiority, crumble in the face of academic authority. On many occasions when this writer felt that the school authorities were unfair, he saw parents leave a meeting empty-handed. They had been verbally "flimflamed" out of their rights. The tendency to even confront educational authorities in an attempt to protect children is diminished by the predisposition of lower class parents to avoid trouble at any cost.

As a result, in a great many cases the child is "thrown to the wolves." The inexperience of the parent in dealing with bureaucratic roles, his feelings of inferiority when dealing with a more educated person, makes him indeed a poor advocate to offset the labeling process of the school system or other public agencies. The same processes operate in the legal and the welfare institutions. The individual from Potter Addition, when called into the bailiwick of these institutions, is surrounded by strangers who operate in a world which he little understands. The buzzing confusion created by threatening authority, legalisms, and bureaucratic "double talk" leaves him totally defenseless. He often leaves such encounters with a vague notion that he has been cheated. He indeed is often cheated; however, he can seldom "prove" this fact. The encounter of the lower class individual with the institutions of our society are indeed Kafkaesque. To enter situations such as these is to surrender all autonomy over one's personal destiny. Accordingly the lower class individual avoids such situations and as such the potential of his daily victimization becomes assured.

This section has briefly described the conditions under which stigmatization occurs for people who live in Potter Addition. They are essentially deprived of rights and access to power. They are a threat to the orderly institutional structure of the larger community. Many lack the skills, attitudes, and life style to efficiently operate in such institutional settings. The people of Potter Addition are by and large powerless to affect their lives. Therefore, they are exploited. The stigmatic label reduces them to non-persons and thus allows the larger society to exploit with little guilt and with great impunity.

The dwellers in Potter Addition often grudgingly succumb to stigmatization. They tolerate such stigmatization since they have neither the resources nor the knowledge to change the given state of affairs. They also see in their own eyes some remote basis for such stigmatization. They see around them enough poverty, promiscuity, and disorder to confirm their suspicion that this stigmatization is perhaps deserved. Such stigma might be erased if the people of this community could collectively rise up and challenge these labels. However, the structure of Potter Addition does not allow for any sustained "collective uprising." The fragmented social structure, developed as it is to adapt to an impoverished and variable environment, does not allow for such action. While stigma are seldom placidly accepted, adjustments are made by which they are denied or deflected, but still endured.

2. Stigma Disavowal and the Ideological Counter-Attack of the Poor. The last section discussed the foundations of stigmatization as directed toward the people of Potter Addition. Such stigma, however, are not fully acceded to in the community. One of the first things that the researcher noticed when entering the community was a large majority of people showed a pride and an *élan* in their identification with Potter Addition. The fiercest defenses could be evoked by raising an argument which supported the institutionally based stigmatization of the population. Many argued eloquently and convincingly that the stigmatization was either wrong, unfair, or tended to be true of only a small portion of the community. From these observations it was obvious that self derogation and demoralization which might have been expected to be a result of the stigmatization process was not in effect in the community.

There are several reasons why such an *élan* was maintained. First of all, the very geographical placement of Potter Addition diminishes the acceptance of stigma by the people in the community. Because of its unincorporated nature, Potter Addition creates conditions for a life which is fairly free of external, formal, and legal restraints. It is a place where one is not necessarily bound by any norm of neighborliness. One can be "left alone" and establish relations and expectations outside his kin group at will. The individual in Potter Addition can escape situations which lead to embarrassment and admission of role failure. At the same time he can pursue activities in which he excels and to some extent can pick his audiences for praise.

A woman knows that she has had an illegitimate child, that her husband is unfaithful, and that deviance exists in her family. She learns to live with these things. The important thing for many of these people is to live in an environment where these may be kept secret or at least remain unverbalized. For many there is a tremendous difference between the internal knowledge of deviance and a public recognition of it by stigmatized labelling. Potter Addition is a place where deviance can be tolerated since in one form or another it permeates most households. It is also a place where criticism and direct confrontations seldom occur. It is seen as easier to live with the knowledge of deviance and fend off feelings of guilt and inferiority if those who surround the person live with similar deviance and blemished biographies. The practical issue becomes one of adapting relations to neighbors, managing what Goffman has called spoiled identities in the situational, short run content of the community (Goffman, 1963).

The very location of Potter Addition then maximizes circumstances by which extra-community criticism can be fended off. Its physical and social isolation, its relative lack of jurisdictional surveillance, and the lack of formal controls constitute powerful barriers to the intrusion of the threatening institutional culture.

So far we have suggested that the isolation of the community is a factor by which counter-ideologies are generated which successfully stave off demoralizing implications of stigmatic definitions. We will now discuss some of the particulars of this counter-ideology. To do this we will have to differentiate between two different parts or functionally specific aspects of ideology. As Bendix has pointed out, ideologies differ in their content and purposes according to the structural situation in which they are found (Bendix, 1964). A group that is dominant in a society must construct an ideology which can be embraced by all whom they hope to dominate. In this case the extension of authority is the prime objective of such a ruling group.

In situations where groups are competing for dominance, ideologies must perform different tasks. They must (1) neutralize the claims of competing ideological positions and groups, and (2) create attractive and alternative pictures of reality rooted in utopian appeals.

The neutralization of the dictates and definitions of public culture is relatively easy for people who live in Potter Addition. From the lowest rung of the social ladder they gain a perspective of respectable citizens which is unique. They are at the bottom and from time to time come into contact with those who stigmatize them. These contacts allow them to "see through the legitimate fronts" of the public leaders.

This perspective is a seamy one since many in Potter Addition have in the past provided "illegitimate services" for the upstanding gentry of Urbana. A man whose father has delivered bootleg liquor to a mayor, who has whored in the same bars in their younger days with the community leaders, and who has provided a range of illicit services to the upper strata of Urbana, has a ready made answer for any criticism of his behavior. If he is criticized for his drinking, he can always point out that he drinks no more than a handful of respectable citizens who look down on him. If he is unfaithful to his wife, he can see no difference between his infidelity and the secret infidelity of a local community leader who would condemn him. He does not have to speculate about these things; he is familiar with them.

Consequently, much chastisement is written off as hypocrisy. There is some "folk validation" for this: Such songs as "Harper Valley P.T.A." expose members of the local school board as Harper Valley Hypocrites. Indeed, the charge of hypocricy rather than being an act of disavowal with the larger system may be interpreted as an expression of identity to that system. The person from Potter Addition is no different in his indiscretions than those who have been given high esteem. In fact he would claim he leads a more moral life! The charge of hypocricy is a democratic leveling device by which the lower classes of small towns seek to show that they are like everyone else. Indeed, in his own eyes the resident of Potter Addition may see himself as more honest since he does not indulge in "hypocritical finger pointing."

An entire set of verbal interventions emerge to debunk the reality of stigmatic definition of them. They are not blind to the legal double-standard which exists between rich and poor. If there is more juvenile delinquency in Potter Addition, it is only because more children from the area are caught and brought to trial. It is "common knowledge" in Potter Addition that the middle class child who is caught may never be brought to trial.[1] In fact, they apply this inequity to explain and defend their "community based reality."

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[1] It is ironic that many of the facts cited to support neutralizations have been acquired from welfare workers and sociologists. Many have attended state conferences on juvenile delinquency through the auspices of a local youth group. Much of the material which is later used for neutralization is picked up from speakers at these meetings.

In many ways the people of Potter Addition are like the contemporary blacks who through exclusion from white culture know more about white culture than whites know about black culture. They use this "information" to their own advantage and protection. One of the ideological ploys used constantly to neutralize charges of deviance is the statement that the actions of people in Potter Addition are no different from those outside of Potter Addition. Since Potter Addition is closed by and large to outsiders, the outsider has very little evidence to refute such appeals to "sameness." There has developed within Potter Addition, due to its isolation and freedom from public critics, a set of well-founded and commonly-held beliefs among the residents (within the territorial confines of the community) which effectively deny the "objective foundations" upon which public institutions base their stigmatization.

One thing should be said about neutralization. This term has been used by Matza to explain the processes by which delinquents "drift" into delinquent behavior (Matza, 1964, pp. 69-101). It is essentially seen as an instrument of negation. However, there is sharp disagreement between this writer and Matza about the structural foundations of neutralization. For Matza, neutralizing expressions are purely psychologically based rationalizations by which the child justifies his behavior in pursuit of pleasure. In my reading of Matza I found no suggestion that support for such neutralizing strategies occur beyond delinquent groups. The findings of this report do not support such a view. The neutralization mechanism, as observed in Potter Addition, is not developed within the province of children. Indeed, the more sophisticated neutralizations were presented to them by their parents. The child seems to neutralize arguments and the entire style of neutralization by listening to his parents. Hence, neutralization as a purely psychological mechanism spawned spontaneously in the bowels of delinquent gangs does not seem to be an adequate use of the concept. Indeed, the findings of this study indicate that neutralization is a mechanism by which a powerless group, put on the defensive by dominant institutions, justifies its own existence and escapes the degradation which society would visit upon it.

Neutralizations, then, are not merely mechanisms which allow "libidos to unwind." Rather, these neutralizations emerge from the existential conditions of a group of people who must continue to live in a society which has little sympathy or use for them and over which they have no control. They create protective and fragile facades of normalcy under conditions where normalcy is impossible. In the end, neutralization and ideology differ not in content but context. Ideologies are world views of whole class system segments. Neutralizations are verbalizations of isolated groups who have yet to rise to power or indeed may never do so.

As mentioned earlier, the second aspect of any ideology is an affirmation of the good life. The people of Potter Addition have such a picture. For them the good life is summed up in the agrarian ideal (Vidich and Bensman, 1968), which lionizes the land and man's relationship to it. It is a set of ideas which paint the good life in terms of the rural life; a phraseology which sees the good life obtainable only in the small country town. Indeed, if one were to ask people what Potter Addition is, they would say that it is just like any small farm town in Illinois. As one old time resident said, "We are all at heart farmers. We like to be left alone, keep out of other people's business and come to people's aid in time of need."

For many of the residents, this is how they see Potter Addition. For others this is the way they would like to see Potter Addition. The rural perspective allows an alternative choice of interpretation of life in Potter Addition. Substandard housing, outdoor toilets, well water and other "substandard" characteristics do not denote poverty alone but only a rural state of affairs (not unlike farming conditions in which they were raised). The fastest way to insult a person from Potter Addition is to call him poor. To be poor in their minds is to be useless, to be a relief cheater, and to be dispicable. To be labeled poor and to accept that label in their eyes is to accept self demoralization. To finally admit that they are indeed poor is to give up the last line of self-defense against degradation.

In brief the main function of the set of verbalizations which we have called (perhaps incorrectly) ideology is an attempt to construct defenses against the larger society. In the process of neutralizing those charges of stigma, they deny the superior position of those critics who would degrade them. By defining themselves as rural folk, they embrace a set of values and symbols which "plug them in" to what is still a sacred and revered way of life.

For all the sophistication of these verbalizations and counterarguments, however, the person need only look around him to realize that the argument is somehow not whole. Whenever he confronts a representative of the major institutions, he realizes that his claims to normalcy are somewhat less than valid. Yet, through compartmentalization, by avoidance of certain people and social positions which would expose strong counterarguments, the myth of commonality can be maintained. The reality testing of this lower class ideology can be avoided only if encounters are restricted to those who have the same vested interests in maintaining that ideology. If you are from Potter Addition, neutralizing statements and claims to rural identity are best made within the confines of the community. The validity of such an ideology can only be maintained by restricting interaction in such a way as to avoid frequent contact (and therefore testing of the ideology) with public critics. In short, the ideology of sameness is a fragile half-truth to be told over and over again to those who have a vested interest in the continuance of that half-truth. What maintains the fiction in large part is the closed nature of the community, the exclusion of full participation in the parent community, and finally apathy of outsiders toward Potter Addition. As long as its residents do not create problems in the operation of the economic, political, and educational institutions of Urbana, Potter Addition will be permitted to perpetuate this illusion.

3. Individual Strategies: Stigma and the Disavowal of Community. Stigma in Potter Addition ideally are dealt with at three levels: The personal, the family, and the collective. In handling personal and family stigma one must address himself primarily to other people in Potter Addition. The problems of stigma which center around contacts with representatives of public culture are by and large distant phenomena when it comes to living day-to-day in Potter Addition.

The most frequently employed defense of one's stigma is what we will call leveling mechanisms. Almost everyone in Potter Addition carries with him some stigma. They have some "family skeletons" or set of biographical facts of which they are not proud. It may be an illegitimate child, a jail record, doubt about one's parentage, or any multitude of things. In the individual's orientation there are very few hierarchical distinctions made between types of stigma. All stigma as experienced by others in the end become equal. They become equal in the process of accounting for one's own shortcomings. If a woman has in her background a history of sexual promiscuity, she need not necessarily be subjected to public criticism and ridicule. For in any encounter in which an accounting of shortcomings are made, the person who confronts you with your shortcomings is automatically on shaky ground.

If a person does confront an individual in Potter Addition with stigma, he runs the risk of having his own stigmatic biography exhumed before his very eyes. Hurt is returned with hurt. For the stigmatized of the community it is necessary to "have something on everybody and use it when necessary." This is not difficult to do since to live in Potter Addition for any length of time is to have an "open biography." Everyone knows everyone else's business, follies, and indiscretions. To know everyone else's business is to "dig up dirt" on some portion of a person's past.

The leveling mechanism presents great potential for protection. One need not worry about being confronted with past or present indiscretions. For if this is done, one can retaliate quickly - if not cruelly. There is thus a standoff between residents. One protects himself and his stigmatized biography by accumulating seamy information on others in the community. If one is particularly vulnerable, to play it safe, he must "collect dirt" on everyone. Hence, the management of stigmatized identity within the confines of Potter Addition is handled by a great many by always having "information" which can be used in time of interpersonal crisis and embarrassment.

The rules of such a game are known by all. And confrontations are gingerly avoided whenever possible. Such a prerequisite for interaction, however, limits the depth and totality of commitment which can occur in any given encounter. Here we have a second foundation for the "ritual nature" of interaction which marks the community. At the same time such a strategy designed as it is to combat stigma, merely reinforces the ecological foundations of limited group involvement.

Some members of the community give this as a reason for distrust and suspicion of strangers: There is always the possibility that a stranger in the community may obtain elements of your open biography while his biography remains closed. This, consequently, creates an asymmetrical relationship between stranger and resident. The stranger can do damage. He can dredge up and confront the resident with stigmatized elements of the resident's biography leaving the resident of Potter Addition defenseless. The more general neutralizing techniques discussed in the preceding section are of little help in these cases; they apply usually in the general defense of Potter Addition, but they are useless in individual defense. What is needed if one is to avoid the embarrassment of confrontation is to have something one can hold over the stranger. As one informant reported to this researcher, "One of the reasons you're having trouble out here is that nobody knows you. They don't have anything on you. Sooner or later they'll get something on you. If they can't get anything on you, then the next thing they will do is make up something and gossip about you."

What we have discussed up to now is one of the dominating themes of interaction in Potter Addition. Needless to say the daily world is not as "jungle-like" as suggested above. One can usually avoid confrontations with one's stigmatized biography by restricting interaction to a stable "in-group." Only when one steps outside of this protective group do the contingencies of combat through unmasking become relevant possibilities of interaction. Yet even within the in-group you are not totally safe; a flare of temper can tear open old wounds and start a cycle of damaging exchanges. It must be emphasized, that such protection is only relative. There is less of a threat in the peer group when compared to exchange with "strangers." However, tensions in the group can creat equally threatening situations.

The stigmatization of families is handled in much the same manner. When one confronts a family, he is confronting a group which for certain purposes takes on a corporate nature. In exchanges centering around stigmatization, the range and variety of stigma available from a "family pool of stigmatized biographies are much "richer." The tendency to restrict interactions to homogeneous groups is further reinforced by the fact that when one interacts with other family groups, he often carries the potential stigma of his entire family (as part of symbolic estate). He must, if the going gets rough, defend not only himself but his family, as he is held accountable for the entire family's transgressions.

The implications for the intra-community management of stigmatic biographies and symbolic family estates are the following: First, confrontation is minimized due to the mutual openness of biographies. Secondly, the forms of communication which can be established between various groups in the community because of the explosive potential of stigma, are severely inhibited. Thirdly, because of the limitations on such exchanges, the potential for the introduction of novel views and criteria of evaluation is severely curtailed.

The basis of evaluation is heavily laden in a particularistic direction. The same act or same stigmatized element of biography will be evaluated differently depending on whether the person being discussed is a member of the "in-group." The emphasis on small group solidarity structures the perception of the stigmatizing act. In most cases stigmatization from outside the area is not interpreted as an affront to "Potter Addition" as a whole. Stigmatization is only resented when some member of the intimate group is involved. The capriciousness of law enforcement agencies is only mildly resented as a general phenomena. Only when the sting of arrest and incarceration is felt by a member of the group is the entire public culture looked upon with fear and misgiving. When this occurs, it is always possible to demonstrate the unfairness of the police. People compare what has happened to others in Potter Addition and can always find cases of milder treatment for the same act. Thus the law is seen as capricious and particularistic. This in some part is seen to absolve the transgression of the group member. Another example: While the educational shortchanging is directed toward all in Potter Addition and is verbalized as being scandalous, the motivation to change or to confront "the system" occurs only when it is directed to a member of the family, kinship group, or peer group.

The reaction to stigma shaped as it is by both external restrictions and internal restraints produces a rabid form of individualism. In personal discussions with Dr. Michael Lewis this Nineteenth Century Social Darwinist view of the relations between man and society was also found in his work in Harlem (Lewis, 1967). Such individualism and the lack of consciousness of individual welfare, being tightly bound to collective action, is seen by this writer to be a direct product of the social structure which emerges in Potter Addition.

It should not be surprising that some link can be drawn between highly individualistic perceptions of life chances and the variable environment. Individualism and variable environment are mediated by the types of social structure discussed in this report. This relationship has been noted by Walter Miller (1959, pp. 219-236). Miller pointed out that the desired characteristics which were necessary to conquer a frontier are exactly those characteristics which one encounters in the lower class slum.

Independence, aggressiveness, emphasis on bodily strength, and the tendency towards violence were necessary for frontier survival in this country. They are still necessary for those who live on the encapsulated "frontiers" of urban society. The tragedy is that society can no longer tolerate its frontier types. They are too quixotic, too unreliable, and too unpredictable for the massive bureaucratic institutions which have grown up to serve the industrial order. If there is a threat on the part of the lower class to our society at this point in history, it is the threat of the frontier type who has outlived his day and usefulness to the society and its development.

4. Collective Strategies of Stigma Disavowal and the Failure of Community. Why have collective strategies of defense and stigma disavowal failed to develop in Potter Addition? (Davis, 1961, pp. 120-132). Much of the answer has been presented in preceding sections. Generally the intermeshing of ecological and social-evaluation factors have created a structural arrangement which is highly fragmented, atomized, and integrated only at the level of relatively self-contained social units. No foundation has ever been layed by which the various small units could be brought together in a common cause. If they could be brought together in common cause, then collective approaches to their economic problems as well as an efficient combating of stigma might be effected.

However, both the structural prerequisites needed to survive in a variable environment as well as the definitions of reality engendered by that reality preclude the emergence of superordinate structures. Suppose, for example, a community called Potter Addition could emerge and create a set of subcultural patterns which would be unique to the area. It could be assumed that such autonomy of cultural patterns could be a more effective defense against individual demoralization and collective predation. Still, for such structures to emerge, a group would have to be created which could legitimately claim to represent the best interests of the community over and above the interests of any given kinship or peer group. To do this the community elite would have to be based in the culture of all kinship segments and would have to be seen as having a legitimate critical function.

Drawing on the work of Farber, for such a "community culture" to persist over time, we would have to assume minimally that a community critic would have to emerge (Farber, 1964, pp. 187-232). As we shall show, the conditions of efficient criticism are not now possible in Potter Addition. Hence, the development of extra-family leadership and suprafamily institutions is highly unlikely.

To make this argument we will enumerate the characteristics of the social critic as presented by Farber and then demonstrate how the structural arrangement of the present community precludes such a development. Farber (1964) has listed four characteristics of the kinship critic. They are:

1. The social critic is external to the structural arrangement which he is criticizing. The issue at hand here is that the critic is not dependent on the unit he is evaluating. He is, aloof, objective, and sympathetic. It is necessary that he not be dependent on the unit for emotional or other supportive functions in order to perform effective evaluations.

2. The social critic has clear standards of performances of the unit he is evaluating. If evaluation is to be perceived as being legitimate, there can be very little ambivalence about the standards which a unit sees itself being evaluated upon. In order to validate the legitimacy of such criticism the critic should be experienced and committed to the welfare of the group. Experience will validate the objective performance of the critic. High involvement assures those in the unit being criticized that such standards are maintained for group welfare.

3. The social critic must communicate to the unit discrepancies between standards and performance. This is a fairly obvious condition since standards which are not communicated can have little effect on unit behavior. At the same time if there is no feedback between the critic and the unit he is evaluating, then the individuals in the unit cannot evaluate their own performance.

4. The social critic minimizes deviance in the unit he is criticizing. This refers to the control function of the critic. This is indeed why he is criticizing. It is his function to be the keeper of standards and to protect and conserve those standards as they operate within the given unit. To this end he usually has available certain economic and reputational sanctions which he can manipulate in order to enforce adherence to evaluative standards.

The present structural arrangement of Potter Addition makes the emergence of an autonomous critic possessing these characteristics all but impossible. For a social critic to emerge from Potter Addition and still be independent of the unit he is evaluating is very difficult. As we have seen, Potter Addition has one of its functions the providing of services and support during times of crisis. This support is provided on the basis of non-market principles. Support is given on the basis of largely ascriptive criteria. Since we have assumed that the individual facing a variable environment is seldom free from crisis and is excluded from the parent community for support, extended independence from the evaluating unit is not feasible. In reality a handful of families would be eligible to meet this first prerequisite of criticism. However, they fall into two groups: The relative newcomer who has not been seen as having the best interest in Potter Addition at heart and the oldtimers who spend much of their time constructing covert defenses against the "hillbilly newcomers."

For a person to be a critic he must have clear standards of performance. We have seen that utilization of performance standards is highly specific and particularistic vis-a-vis a given group. For someone to emerge from Potter Addition and act as a legitimate critic is very difficult. His standards will in all likelihood be kinship specific, and his perceptions will not coincide exactly with those of others in the community. His legitimacy to criticize will also be brought into question. The appeals to objective factors which he might make to show experience would probably not be accepted by others in the community. For example, to criticize others for deviant behavior would be impossible since his own ability to lead a "moral life" would be "thrown up in his face." There would also always be questions as to his ability to be involved in all kinship units equally. He would be constantly under suspicion of using his role as critic as leverage to gain advantage for his own family or peer group.

Indeed under present structural arrangements in the community, to show neutrality to all groups would in the end put him in a position of being alienated from all groups. The principle of "You're either for us or against us" would undermine any protestation of neutrality.

The communication network as we have described it in this report would make communication of discrepancies between standards and performances impossible. The critic would always be, because of his neutrality, a "stranger." He would be constantly subject to the neutralizing mechanisms which now operate to explain away stigma at the public culture level. Indeed the power asymmetry, implicit in the critic role, would predispose units with whom he interacts to reject his criticism.

Finally, the goal of the social critic as a minimizer of deviance would be undermined for several reasons. First, he would not have available to him the necessary sanctions to effect the group. Secondly, he would have to be a "purer than thou" type. That is, his criticism of deviance would only be tolerated if he himself could show that he was free of criticism. Due to the open biography of all community residents it is doubtful that such a front could long be maintained. Finally, the critic's focus is on the long term consequences of short-run strategies. In a variable environment long-run evaluation would be of a highly unpredictable nature.

The one social role which might be utilized for the services of community critic would be that of the minister. However, the ministers which have had most contact with the area are lay ministers, men who have by and large come to the ministry only after having filled various lower or workingclass occupational roles in their early life. The "mortality rate" of such ministers is high. They are constantly open to charges of moral indiscretions, drinking on the side, being "uppity," and so forth. In the final analysis, the "need to level" precludes the emergence of the autonomous critic.

The failure to develop formal organizations which might protect the people of Potter Addition from predation and stigmatization stems from factors very much akin to those which preclude the emergence of the critic. Several organizations of a self-help or uplift nature have come and gone in Potter Addition. Two of these, the Potter Addition Youth Council and the Potter Addition Ladies Auxiliary, while having succeeded to some extent, have been rendered to a large extent ineffective. Both organizations have had dedicated members. However, as these organizations have matured and gained some small set of victories, they have lost most of their community based constituency. (Ironically these groups are seen by Urbana's leaders as the representatives of the people in Potter Addition.)

This loss of community support has several sources. First, each organization has been based on what for the community was a fatal assumption: That Potter Addition and its people needed improving. While such arguments could be accepted by the population on the most general and abstract level, when applied to specific families or kinship groups, "mass rebellion" of a nature would occur. Secondly, the more stigmatized elements of the population have never really participated. Although the democratic ethos would never allow it to be said, they are the objects of the improvement. Thirdly, families have been constantly offended by actions or activities of group co-members. Such personal offense has been the basis for specific "rebellions."

Rebellion within the organizations is always silent. Members "vote with their feet." In both of these organizations conflict has never been sufficiently institutionalized and its disruptive effects neutralized. What struck this writer as most interesting about the meetings of these groups which he and his wife attended was the total lack of face to face confrontation in verbal resolution of conflicts. Most of the time, motions would be made and passed unanimously. No visible conflict could be found at these meetings. However, as one disgusted member of the youth club put it, "They won't say anything to your face when they don't like something, but they sure as hell talk a lot when they get back home in their own little group." That is, conflict was usually resolved, not in the threatening arena of group meetings, but in the cloistered confines of the clique. Thus the uplifting nature of these organizations as well as their inability to establish true consensus on issues during formal meetings have given these groups a very perilous and turbulent history.

It is interesting to speculate why there was no verbal confrontation. Perhaps the answer lies in large part in the fact that many lacked verbal skills or the "sophisticated" techniques to marshall arguments in the favor of a given issue. Another reason might be that unlike other voluntary associations, the individual's role in the association was not an isolated one of membership only. That is, when a person came to the meeting, he brought with him his kinship identity and the hidden but universally known array of stigma. When disputes of issues would arise, the objective nature of the dispute could very seldom be restricted to the issues at hand. Intense debate might sooner or later involve the individual in non-organizational aspects of his life. If an argument were to become intense, the issues might be forgotten, and personalities could become central points of debate. At this point the situation would become dangerously explosive and threatening to those involved. Conflict over any given issue might thus provide the thin edge of a wedge which would result in the end in the exposure of vulnerable aspects of individual biography and symbolic family estates.

A major problem lay in the inability of people to separate ideas and personalities. If an idea was debated and rejected, it was not interpreted as a rejection of only the idea but of the individual as a person also. However, the writer observed in his stay in the area enough of those potentially tense situations both in and out of meetings to suggest that the potentiality of such policy conflicts could escalate into situations of embarrassing exchange.

One factor which tended to hamstring associational life in the community was the inability of the people to disassociate organizational roles and activities from kinship roles and activities.

The principle of amoral familism has a major determinant of organizational ineffectiveness. Due to the inability of individuals to extend trust for prolonged periods of time to others outside of the kinship group and due to the fact of many officers unable to separate organizational office and kinship status, sustained organizational effort was continually undercut. Just as there could be no role of community critic independent of a kinship status, thus there could not be a role or organization leader independent of family ties.

The history of Potter Addition Youth demonstrates this problem in the most graphic terms possible. During a seven year history of this group, membership fluctuated from high to low four different times. An analysis of organizational records shows that membership size in the organization varied accordingly by family and peer group tie. In the beginning the youth club had broad community support. Within two years the elected head had resigned, and a new president elected. During this period membership and leadership was accompanied by a new peak in membership. During the next year membership declined once again and those who stayed tended to be members of a North-end clique. Approximately two years later the president resigned, and a new president took over. Club activity and membership once again rose and remained stable for approximately six months. At that point, however, many families left the organization because they felt that the new ruling family and peer group "were taking over." Indeed, there is evidence to support the idea that the new ruling clique, while attempting to lead in an honest manner, tended to use club property in such a way that the line between organizational property and kin property became blurred. From this point on membership declined, and soon the organization started a new cycle.

It is one of the ironies of organization in Potter Addition that successful implementation of club programs could be accomplished only at the expense of destroying its broad constituent base in the community. People could work more easily with kin at times and get things done; however, other kinship groups would sooner or later feel excluded and leave. The particularistic functioning of the group while it operated efficiently at the same time destroyed its broad constituent base.

At other times reliance of voluntary associations in the community on kinship groupings for efficient operateon presented opposite problems. One particularly destructive incident for the youth club had its basis in activities external to that organization. Informants report that two sisters-in-laws used the meetings to work out antagonisms which were generated in their particular kinship group. The inability of anyone in the organization to assert the needs of the organization over those of the feuding kinship members all but destroyed the club.

In this section we have discussed the problems of collective action in Potter Addition. We have suggested that the nature of the social structure precludes the development of groupings which could act at the collective and community level to protect the residents of Potter Addition from the predations of larger institutions. The inability of individuals to separate organizational and kinship roles, the inability of the organization to establish structures by which conflict could be worked out in an orderly and open fashion, and the inability of family groupings to cooperate with other families in a trustful and nonthreatening atmosphere are all factors which impeded the development of supra-familial structures in Potter Addition. Thus, while Potter Addition constituted a community in the eyes of external institutions, no semblance of community could be discerned within the territorial confines of Potter Addition. Too many things acted to prevent the emergence of community structures in this fringe neighborhood. Perhaps the main argument of this section can be summed up in the following passage from Louis Wirth:

> "Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common, and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common. Every community thus always has the dual aspects of living together, on the one hand, and participating in a common life on the other. In the plant and animal world it is quite sufficient to analyze community life in terms of symbiosis and competitive cooperation, the mechanisms of which are, so to speak, built into the organism. In the human community, however, we have never fully exhausted our powers of analysis until in addition, we have also understood the participation of the individuals in common enterprises, the sharing of common hopes and ideals, and the mechanisms of communication and social interaction whcch are not built into the organisms but which exist in language, collective symbols, laws and customs, in short, in a social heritage (Wirth, 1964).

Potter Addition lacked this commonality of experience. "Community" in its fullest meaning existed within the closed systems of kin and peer, but did not exist above those levels.

CONCLUSIONS

The problems confronting the educator and the population of Potter Addition will not be solved in the classroom. No amount of innovative, pedagogical techniques will change the basic relationship between the child of Potter Addition and the educational system. Since the problems have their roots outside the educational system, no set of specialized teaching devices or teaching hardware will alter the basic lower class context. If we must ask why the lower class is a problem in the school, we must expand the question to answer it. We must ask why is the lower class problematic for the entire society.

Farber has suggested that the lower class is a superfluous population. Not only are they superfluous, their very superfluity is a prerequisite for the efficient operation of the industrial and political order. Norms of achievement and self-regulating markets, whether they be economic or educational, have their utility in the efficient allocation of physical and human resources.

The school system as it stands today is very much caught up in the efficiency orientation of the society. Not only is education and its availability a function of class, it itself is caught up in serving the most wealthy and powerful elements of the public culture. It is these elements which direct and effect the policies of the educational elite at the local level. It is this combination of elites which sets the criteria of "intelligence" and hence imposes on the educational system the achievement criteria of the public culture.

While it may be true that local educational policies are formed by the operation of veto and pressure groups, such a model can only take into account the upper income segments of our society. The superfluous poor are isolated from any such power arrangement. Thus from the perspective of the bottom, there is little that can be done to effect the educational system in a grass roots manner.

Indeed, to establish a curriculum by which the needs of the lower class could be met by the school system would be dysfunctional for the maintenance of the established order. First to allow the lower class to have a voice in the educational system would require a reallocation of educational resources. This would require shifting resources from activities which socialize the child into norms of the public culture. Such an allocation of resources would not be consistent with the assumed efficiency norm of rational bureaucratic structures. Beyond the question of the schools, the transformation of the non-service norm of the school system vis-a-vis the lower class would have disastrous consequences for the ordering of social institutions. If the educational system were to somehow deal with the lower class in such a way as to alter its superfluous status, it would be destroying a necessary industrial reserve army. Such an industrial reserve force, Farber has pointed out, is necessary for efficiency-based social systems to meet the needs of change and innovation (Farber, 1968, pp. 3-23). Thus if the school is to be an efficient replicator of contemporary public institutional life, it cannot meet the needs of the lower classes effectively. If anything, it must continue to be an instrument of stigmatic labeling, degradation and suppression. It must operate with the rest of the public culture to perpetuate a passive industrial reserve army.

The broad functions but narrow aims of such programs which have a remedial relationship to the poor will in the end do more harm to the poor than good. For in learning the techniques necessary to survive in the present public culture, the price required is the dislocation of the child from the social and cultural world of the parent. In the end it is designed to cut off the child from the protective and affectively based strategies and commitments that have been developed to meet the demands of the lower-class world.

Suppose, however, the educational system were to serve Potter Addition and its kind at all costs. If the school system were to develop meaningful programs for the lower class which would alter their basically superfluous status, it would be undertaking a task of revolutionary proportions. The War on Poverty and Operation Head Start are essentially programs which attempt to solve the problems of the poor without commitment to a structural solution of the problem. Such programs are essentially designed to socialize the lower class individual into the public culture. (For an expansion of this, see the theory section of this report.) The aim of such programs is to give him educational techniques by which he can succeed in terms of public rationality and intelligence. However, such programs seldom deal with the basic problems which lie in the social strata system itself.

The recommendations of this report are not concerned with detailed critiques of techniques. As has been stated, the problem is not educational and technical; it is political. Its roots extend to the very value premises of our society. Thus special programs are impotent if they ignore the community and social context of the school. In the case of Potter Addition, the problems of education vis-a-vis the community lie in the very public culture which the school serves. The public culture out of necessity creates Potter Additions. To bring about changes of an enduring nature, the public culture itself must be transformed. The norms of the public culture and its emphasis on institutional efficiency will have to be either discarded or be given a new position in the hierarchy of social priorities.

Needless to say, this will require some fundamental rearrangements of power in the society. Special educational programs and guaranteed annual incomes and other remedial measures in an of themselves will not solve the plight of the schools nor the populations which they service. What is at issue here is a radical redistribution of power, the autonomy which comes with power and the ability of poople to preserve and change cherished life styles at the pace which benefits them.

PART III

Problems of Competence Development Among Ghetto Residents of a Middle-Sized City

Michael Lewis

SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

The Rationale

The study reported on in the following pages grows out of two basic sociological concerns, both of which--given the problems confronting them--ought to be important in the thinking of professional educators. The first of these may be stated as follows:

> The American racial dichotomy which for hundreds of years has relegated Negro Americans to inferior caste position is now in the process--long overdue to be sure--of breaking down. It is difficult to estimate just how long it will take for the remnants of the dichotomy and caste mentality to disappear from American life. Even the most optimistic among us, however, recognizes the difficulties which must be honestly confronted if real headway is to be made toward an *integrated society* in which race is not a significant factor in determining access to opportunity. Aside from the political resistance to the abolishment of the dichotomy, the major difficulties which must be confronted are those which might be termed the *factors of impediment* internal to the black community itself. Put as simply as possible, such *factors of impediment* may be understood as those structural conditions which have developed in response to exploitation and exclusion, impede, or, indeed, prevent those individuals who live in terms of them from taking advantage of opportunities for full participation in the mainstream of American life. It is increasingly clear to both dispassionate observers and passionate advocates of the black man's cause that if by some miracle all the political barriers to full participation were to be obliterated today or tomorrow many Negroes (victimized by the factors of impediment) would be unable to make successful use of their new-found access to opportunity; and, as a result, black men would remain over-represented among the ranks of the underclass. Thus while every effort must be made to continue the struggle against arbitrary exclusion, we must also recognize that without attending to the eradication of impeding factors political victories which ostensibly

> open up mainstream opportunities would be pyhric indeed.
>
> We have undertaken the study reported on in these pages in order 1) to make more intelligible the nature of the *factors of impediment*, and 2) to see if it is possible on the basis of sociological analysis to recommend strategies of intervention intended to mitigate against the deleterious impact of such factors; it should be noted at the outset that some of these strategies may indeed imply changes in the philosophy as well as the organization and methodologies of those agencies--the schools, the welfare agencies, etc.--which are most consistently involved in intervention against these factors.

The second of the underlying concerns informing this research may be outlined as follows:

> There is in contemporary social science too little attention being paid to a comparative urbanism within boundaries of American society. This is particularly true of sociology. We have, in much too facile a manner, assumed the unity of characteristics (and phenomena) in all communities commonly identified as urban. Obviously when we think about it there would appear to be some very basic demographic, ecological, and social structural differences between different urban communities. And in some instances regional conditions and local history may be differentiating elements. There are different kinds of urbanisms in the United States and we need to refine our conceptions of what the urban experience is. That it is variable is a safe hypothesis. We need, however, to specify the parameters of this variability.
>
> For those who are interested in educational innovation and other forms of intervention calculated to mitigate against the impeding factors which are products of the American racial dichotomy, the importance of such a comparative urbanism can not be overestimated. As urban contexts vary, so too may the constellations of impeding factors; and, consequently, there may be a definite need to vary strategies of educational and welfare intervention so that they will be appropriate to the community in which they are being applied. Even if the constellation of impeding factors is relatively stable from one kind of community to the

next, the variable social contexts in which they are housed may necessitate the adoption of varying strategies of intervention. It is a working hypothesis of this research that, at least in some measure, what the innovator must do in, for example in Harrisburg, Pa., in order to make his laboratory-tested intervention effective in the field, will have to differ in some respects from what he would have to do in New York City or Chicago or, indeed, in Dallas, Texas or Las Vegas, Nevada. It seems to the principal investigator that just as sociologists have often over-simplified what they mean by urban, focusing more often than not on metropolitan communities, so too have those who are concerned with innovation and intervention neglected the variations in social context which are characteristic of the different urban communities in which their innovations must ultimately be applied if they are to be considered successful at all.

We have undertaken the study reported on in these pages to take a first step toward a systematic comparative urbanism within the boundaries of American society. In particular we have done so with special attention to those conditions which are either in need of change as the result of educational and welfare intervention or which might conceivably affect the kinds of innovative strategies necessary to make such intervention effective. In one sense our study is not comparative because we make no systematic attempt to draw comparisons between different types of communities. Instead--for reasons elaborated below (see section on methodology), we have chosen to study *a nonmetropolitan urban community intensively*. Out of this study we hope to make a beginning in developing strategic guidelines for educational and welfare intervention in like communities. A full elaboration of guidelines for intervention must await further systematic study.

The Competence Framework

Social science literature contains a number of studies which attempt to assess the nature and extent of the damage visited upon Negro Americans as a result of the racial dichotomy, so long a social fact in this society. General and historical studies such as Gunnar Myrdal's landmark *An American Dilemma* and John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery To Freedom* have attempted to give us an accurate record of the black man's institutional response to the exploitation--both systematic and wanton--which has been characteristic of white society's demeanor toward him. E. Franklin Frazier's classic *The Negro Family in the United States* and Daniel Patrick Moynihan's highly publicized memorandum *The Negro Family: The Case For National Action* have etched in the memories of all who have taken the time to read them a picture of unrelenting matricenteredness among the black lower class and a Jeremiah-like forecast of increased difficulty for such families in urban areas if massive doses of aid and reform are not applied forthwith. A number of psychologically-informed studies have attempted to evaluate the personal impact of the dichotomy in the lives of Negroes by either adopting a holistic biographical approach or by attempting to measure trait differences as between black and white. Among the former have been John Dollard's *Caste and Class in A Southern Town* in which he concluded that Negroes developed an accomodating caste psychology whereby aspirations for personal accomplishment were lowered to conform to the realities of caste limitations present in the community he studied (the accomodative psychology was most pronounced among lower-class Negroes); Allison Davis and John Dollard's *Children of Bondage* in which they concluded that while the racial dichotomy affected all Negroes it affected them differentially with the lower class developing personal styles which attempted to compensate for caste restrictions by giving relatively free expression to sexual and aggressive impulses; and Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey's *The Mark of Oppression* in which they concluded that their intensively-studied 25 subjects had been maimed by the conditions of the racial dichotomy; that their potential for healthy expression of affect had been lowered, their sexual identifications had become conflict-ridden, their conscience mechanisms had become distorted and their self-esteem had been gravely impaired.

Among the trait studies, the following may be cited as typical: An investigation of manifest anxiety found that Negro children evidenced that quality to a greater degree than white children of the same age (Palermo, 1959); a study employing the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) found that Negro boys between the ages of 10-14 viewed their environment as much more threatening than did a comparable group of white boys (Mussen, 1953); a study using the MMPI on a small group of Negro and white hospital patients found that Negro men evidenced "a more feminine pattern of interests" and more "bizarre and unusual thoughts" (Hokanson and Calden, 1960); while still another study has indicated that Southern Negro men tended to be less aggressive in the face of frustration than Southern white men, while in the North the pattern tended toward reversal (McCrary, 1951).

As even a superficial reading of their results indicates, none of the personal impact studies approaches definitiveness.

Moreover because, for the most part, they focus upon personality characteristics or psychological states rather than behavioral patterns or predispositions, such studies fall short of providing a basis for planned intervention. It is in the nature of the case that personality characteristics and internal psychological states do not translate on a one-to-one basis into specific behavioral characteristics. Thus, even definitive knowledge of the psychological impact of racial victimization would not necessarily mean that we had the key to an understanding of the *impeding factors* we have noted above. The Dollard findings would seem to imply behaviors which might obstruct access to "mainstream" opportunities--i.e., lowered aspiration level--but the other studies cited leave indeterminate the relation between personality and behavior. Heightened anxiety may or may not impede those behaviors necessary--let us say--for economic success; it is entirely possible that anxiety may serve as a goad which drives the individual on to ever greater effort. The same may be said for other characteristics such as identity confusion, fear of environment, bizarre and unusual thoughts, the free expression of aggression and so on. Granting for the moment that these traits appear disproportionately among Negroes, we do not know whether they are in fact among the impeding factors we seek to elucidate.

In our attempt to understand the nature of the impeding factors blocking access to opportunities for Negroes the personality perspective is, thus, of little avail. Accordingly, we have adopted a framework for our investigation which because of its emphasis upon normative problems is sociological rather than psychological. We shall call this framework the *competence perspective*. A brief depiction of this framework now follows:

> Competence is defined for our purposes as the ability of an individual to approximate in his or her behavior standards of quality which are institutionalized for specific roles. Competence is thus a social dimension, the *action counterpart* of institutionalized expectations for role performance.

When we consider an individual's competence our consideration is specific to a particular role or complex of roles. In American society we can distinguish between two classes of role in which as a matter of course we take measure of an individual's competence. The first class may be designated as *volitional*, the second class as *prescriptive*. *Volitional roles* are those roles which the individual chooses more-or-less idiosyncratically. As examples we might suggest particular vocational roles such as doctor, plumber, teachers, etc. It is characteristic of this class that an individual is not censured for his refusal to undertake any particular role in the class. Questions of the individual's *competence* in this class are relevant only with respect to those roles to which he has made a commitment. *Prescriptive roles* are those roles which, given sex and age differentials, *all* (or nearly all) individuals in a particular society are expected to undertake. Failure to do so subjects the individual to varying degrees of social censure, ranging from mild disapproval to public condemnation and exclusion, although the mere undertaking of the role does not insure social approval. Approval is a function of the individual's ability to meet institutionalized standards of performance for the roles in question--or in other words his *competence* in these roles.[1]

Before continuing with this brief elaboration of the framework, let us pause momentarily to reflect on the implications of what we have presented thus far for the purpose of our study. Given the gradual expansion of mainstream opportunities for black Americans there is need to focus upon the *conditions* impeding success in these opportunities which, although they are ultimately the products of the exploitation inherent in the racial dichotomy, are in the immediate sense woven into the fabric of black society. These factors may operate on any or all of a number of different levels. It may be that there are particular institutional (or structural) characteristics, perhaps matrifocally with regard to the family system, which impede success in the mainstream. It may be that there are subcultural emphases--the "cool world of the hustle" or the expressive nihilism of the most militant brands of black nationalism--which deflect the attention of those who partake of them from the opportunities in the mainstream. It may be finally that the overrepresentation of certain psychological traits among Negroes does, indeed, predispose many of them to failure in the mainstream.[2] The competence framework does not of itself allow us to analyze the underlying sources of impediment; but by focusing upon roles rather than personality at the outset, it provides us with a way of categorizing the behavioral areas in which the impediments occur. Because by definition both the roles and the standards of competence applicable to them are derivatives of the dominant normative consensus in any given society (i.e., the "mainstream") the use of such a framework permits us to specify just those areas in which those we are studying fail, as it were, to make their connection with that society. An accurate specification of default will in turn provide us with a point of departure from which we might then begin a more systematic analysis of the sources of impediment--institutional, subcultural, psychological, etc. Theoretically at least, the combination of such classification of impediment together with the analysis of its sources should provide a basis for rational intervention on the part of those whose commitment is to the freeing of the potential of those who bear the burdens of exploitation and repression.

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[1] *Note:* This discussion and the following material on competence is adopted from the principal investigator's earlier work. For an extended discussion of the competence perspective see:

Michael Lewis, *Competence and the American Racial Dichotomy: A Study in the Dynamics of Victimization* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1967). See Chapters I, II, and VI in particular.

Returning to the explication of the competence framework the following are presented as the *prescribed* roles in which competence is almost universally evaluated. We outline these roles together with the standards of adequacy generally used to evaluate performance in them. We focus on *prescribed* roles because culturally speaking they and the standards of performance associated with them are social facts universal to our society and are, consequently, beyond personal manipulation by any given individual. The requirement of participation and the standards of adequacy are applied mercilessly to us all.[3]

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[2] *Note:* We should, of course, be aware of impeding factors external to black society. These include actual blockage or discrimination and more subtly the holding back of cues and information necessary for success in the mainstream. We will have more to say about this latter circumstance in later sections of this report.

[3] *Note:* We take the position that, subcultures notwithstanding, there is a generalized normative core applicable throughout American society. Competence expectations are derivatives of this normative core. While this is an issue about which there is some controversy, there is support for the position adopted here in the literature. See, for example, Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," *Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 131-160.
And, Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), p. 87.

As follows, the prescribed roles and their associated standards of performance are:

For Men

1) *Breadwinner in the economy:*

As an absolute minimum we expect a man to work regularly at a job which provides him with the means of securing a satisfactory standard of living for himself and his family (assuming of course that he is not arbitrarily excluded from economic opportunity). Relative to the number and type of a man's dependents he is performing competently if he works regularly at a job which provides him with the means to meet both is own basic needs and those of his dependents. A second aspect of such competence is the individual's ability to put his earnings to efficient use. We expect that an adult male will be capable of allocating the means at his disposal to meet his needs and those of his spouse and children in such a manner that no one who is dependent upon him will suffer undue hardship. Thus, a man who works at a job which theoretically provides him with necessary means but who squanders it while those depending upon him for support go without the necessary food, clothing, health services, etc., is a man who is economically *incompetent*.

2) *Husband in the family:*

We expect that an adult man--unless he has a special dispensation which suspends the expectation as in the case of a Roman Catholic Priest--will contract and sustain a publicly symbolized conjugal relationship. In today's marriage a man is expected to be able to give fully of his total self, to be able to commit his entire personality to the relationship. No longer a matter whose control rests beyond the principals (as in kinship dominated societies), marriage has become a relationship in which individual volition is recognized as the only acceptable source of contract and the only legitimate basis for continuation. Marriage in our society is ideally a "voluntary association" admitting of only two members in which exclusive commitment to each other is expected. A man must, therefore, be capable of an "authentic presence" in the relationship. Such a presence entails skill in communicating the self and skill in meeting the affective and sexual needs of his spouse.

3) *Father in the family:*

We expect that as a matter of course an adult man will make the biological and interpersonal investments necessary to father at least one child. We expect a father to be concerned and responsible for the well-being of his children until they are capable of independently maintaining themselves. Such maintenance, of course, includes their material sustenance. Beyond sustenance, however, we expect a father to be capable of demonstrating sincere interest in his children. We expect him to present a positively toned model of masculinity to his children, to provide a socially acceptable model for his sons to emulate and his daughters to respect. Furthermore, the competent father is expected to exercise legitimate authority over his children, to govern them (in concert with mother) for their good and welfare both present and future. Accomplishing all this requires of a man that he be "skilled" in establishing interpersonal rapport, that he be capable of listening to, empathizing with, and articulating the needs of his children with the appropriate models of behavior in our society.

For Women [4]

1) *Wife in the family:*

The personalization of American marriage places essentially the same demands for interpersonal competence on both husband and wife in the conjugal relationship. Like her spouse, we expect a competent (or good) wife to make a total commitment of self to her marriage; to project an "authentic presence"; to meet the affective and sexual needs of her husband in a manner which is mutually gratifying.

2) *Mother in the family:*

In contemporary American society it is common to expect that a married woman will make the necessary physiological investment in the bearing of at least one child. A wife's refusal to bear children evokes severe censure and is itself grounds for the dissolution of a marriage. Traditionally, the primary responsibility for the health and welfare of minor children has been vested in the mother. Thus, we expect a woman with children to have the necessary skills for creating an atmosphere of physical and emotional security for them. We therefore expect a woman 1) to be able to turn the means of sustenance into the operations of care, 2) to provide nourishing meals for her children, 3) to attend to their health needs promptly and efficiently, 4) to see that her children are adequately clothed, 5) to provide them with the physical security necessary for undisturbed growth which, as a consequence of their physical and social immaturity, they cannot provide for themselves. Beyond physical care we expect the mother to be an affective specialist. The essence of maternal care, we say, may be found in the mother's capacity to invest herself fully in a relationship with her children, in her capacity to listen carefully to their expressions of need and ultimately to meet these needs when they are "realistic." Beyond this, we expect a mother to present an appropriate model of feminity to her children, one which her daughters can emulate without running afoul of current social expectations and one which awakens admiration and respect in her sons.

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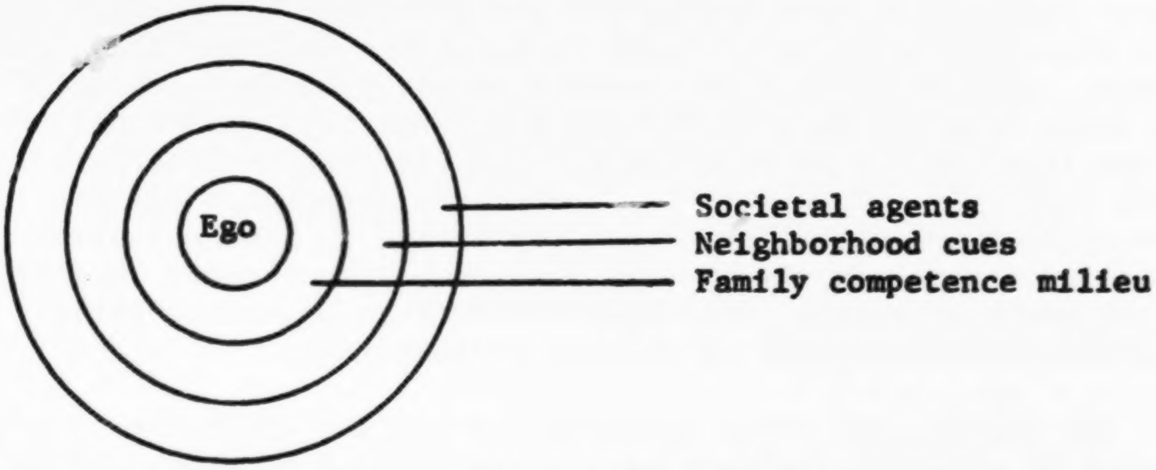
[4] *Note:* Despite the increased direct participation of women in extra-familial performance areas, e.g., the economy, the family remains the most legitimate single area of feminine participation and is, consequently, the primary area in which we take measure of a woman. No woman is censured for either vocational incapacity or the desire to avoid direct involvement in the world of work. We do, however, "wonder" about a woman who forsakes family life entirely in pursuit of a career. The family roles are *prescribed* roles for women in American society.

3) *Homemaker:*

A woman is expected to keep a clean and orderly house. Even in situations where the means are limited, where furniture cannot be easily replaced, and where a woman must do without the so-called "labor saving conveniences," she is expected to attend regularly to housekeeping chores. Beyond actual housekeeping a woman is expected--within the limits of her means--to be the family's arbiter of taste. She is expected to show some concern for what will constitute the aesthetic (decorative) aspects of her domicile. Standards of "good" taste change rapidly but whatever the existing standards may be, the adult woman is expected to be attuned to them and to translate them into physical realities within the home.

Before concluding this introduction to our study we should like to present the following model of competence development. The model is an important one because it has informed the inquiry we are reporting on in these pages. The reader is, however, cautioned not to expect strict conformity to its characteristics in later sections of this report. Our model is heuristic in nature; its use has sensitized the researchers to certain problems and configurations of socio-cultural characteristics relevant to the intent of our investigation.

Every individual during his childhood and adolescence is confronted with three sources of influence which either encourage maximum development of competence potential or impede that development. These influences may be noted as follows: 1) the agents of society's expectations for role competence (i.e., teachers; and in some cases social workers; scout leaders; and other adult youth workers), 2) the cues emanating from the neighborhood environment, and 3) the competence milieus in their family contexts. These three influences constitute a network playing upon the growing individual which can be visualized as a series of concentric rings which surround him throughout the developmental stages of his life.



The operation of this network may be described in terms of a *logic-of-influence* which can be explicated as follows: Each ring (or source of influence) is characterized by a different quality of intensity in its impact upon ego, depending upon the degree of intimacy between the source and ego. We posit that intimacy is greatest between the child (ego) and the familial competence milieu and least between the child (ego) and the societal agents. The neighborhood sources are intermediate.

The societal agents such as social workers and teachers extend to the child competence expectations which emanate from the society's dominant core of values. The relative lack of intimacy in the relationship between ego and these agents is characteristically the result of limitations inherent in the roles of the agents. Teachers, of course, deal with relatively large numbers of children in a single class. In such a circumstance they are rarely able to invest themselves in relationships of some intimacy with most of their students. They, therefore, deliver the competence "message" formally, and only rarely is there an opportunity for intimate and informal feedback. Social workers have as a tenet of their professional code noninvolvement beyond the limits of "therapy." It is rare to find a social worker who invests his own biography in his relationship with "the client." Thus the competence "message," while it is given repeatedly, is more often than not given in an intellectualized or stylized manner and there is little opportunity for ego to explore with the worker the performance implications of the "message." In sum, while the agents may persistently "deliver the message" they do not engage those to whom it is delivered in relationships of sufficient intimacy to indicate *how*, in their own lives, they practice what they preach. In such situations the intensity of impact cannot be too great.

The immediate neighborhood is, for ego, the arena in which he does much of his informal learning. It is in the neighborhood that his peer relationships develop and it is the area in which the child observes the fullest panoply of life on a day-to-day basis. For the growing child it is the immediate neighborhood which provides the first non-familial reference groups. Interaction tends to be less structured and delimited by specific role playing than it is in formal interaction with societal agents. Because of this and because of the prolonged contact the child usually has with this environment, the lessons he learns from his neighborhood encounters are likely to be felt quite intensely. Therefore the competence cues which emanate from ego's immediate neighborhood are likely to have a lasting impact upon him. Unlike the stylized formal competence "message" of the societal agents, the neighborhood cues reach the child informally in the course of diffuse encounters.

The family, generally speaking, is for the child the context of greatest intimacy over a long period of time. It is characteristic of the nuclear family unit that it provides a setting in which interaction between parents and children involves the highest degree of personal self-investment. Because of this and because of its temporal primacy this unit is generally viewed as the key unit in the socialization process.[5]

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[5] *Note:* This is of course recognized in the classic formulations. See: G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

See also: Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family: Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955).

The competence milieu in the nuclear family unit (which is the product of the quality of adult performance in their sexually appropriate roles) confronts the growing child with the greatest intensity. The interaction is relatively unstructured and the child is himself involved in the behavior of his parents. There is nothing formal or stylized about the competence cues the child picks up in this context.

When the three sources of competence influence are *integrated* in their impact on the child (that is, when both the immediate neighborhood environment and the familial competence milieu generate competence cues which are in proximate agreement with those extended by societal agents) the situation is optimal for the child's ultimate development of expected role competence. The cues at each level of intensity are all in the same direction. When, however, there is discontinuity between the cues emanating from the three sources an impediment to the development of role competence becomes a factor. The severity of the impediment, we would hypothesize, is a function of the location of the discontinuity, i.e., in which of the sources with their varying intensity of impact does it occur. In increasing order of severity we can note the following impeding situations in which the expectations for ultimate role competence development must be less than optimal.

1. Integration of cues emanating from societal agents and those emanating from familial contexts. Discontinuity is located in the neighborhood environment which tends to generate cues which deviate from societal expectations.

2. Integration of cues emanating from societal agents and neighborhood environment. Discontinuity is located in the familial context which generates cues which in some measure deviate from societal expectations.

3. Discontinuity is located in both neighborhood environment and familial contexts. In both cases competence cues are generated which deviate from societal expectations. This type represents the integration of the sources having the most intense impact in opposition to the societal agents, who, while representing standard expectations, have the least intense impact

because of role limitations.[6]

Thus in the logic we have developed, the severity of the impediment depends upon the expected intensity of the source in which the discontinuity occurs. The greater the intensity of impact, the greater the impediment as a result of the discontinuity.

If one assumes, as we have, that the competence framework provides us with a viable approach to understanding some of the impediments to full social participation which have become over-represented among Negro Americans, then this *logic-of-influence* formulation is of significance on two levels. First, it provides the researcher who is interested in this problem with a built-in paradigm which can be used to organize his inquiry in any given community setting. Assuming the general validity of the model, it becomes the task of the researcher to characterize in as concrete a manner as possible the operation of the sources of influence in that setting. Second, it provides a standardized basis for the comparative inquiry into this problem in varying urban contexts within American society (see above discussion of the necessity for such inquiry pp. 108-109). Theoretically, the use of this model to inform a series of studies in representative American communities would yield a sociological map of the relevant variations which in turn could provide an empirically grounded basis for intelligent innovation and intervention in pursuit of those reforms necessary for effective remediation of circumstances which deprive so many of their birthright in this society. Because of the importance of this model for such inquiry, let us now take a closer look at its research implications. Application of the model will allow us first to specify the internal variations, if any, which are characteristic of each source of influence from one community to the next. For example, although the model assumes the extension of competence expectations by societal agents in almost all communities (excepting those communities in the Deep South) the consistency and, indeed, the intensity with which they are extended to blacks may vary from one community to the next. This may depend upon a number of factors which the research should attend to--the *ideology* and personal attitudes toward Negroes of those who take such roles as teacher and social worker; the organizational imperatives which govern their contacts with Negroes; and, indeed, the very scale of the bureaucracies which either makes the worker or teacher "effective" or bogs him down in a myriad of tasks which may be organizationally rational but functionally counter-productive. Neighborhood factors as producers of competence cues may also vary from one community setting to the next. In one type of urban setting nearly all the Negroes may be impacted in a single ghetto area. When such is the case one of two possibilities may occur. If the community is such that the job structure is fairly open to blacks, then the ghetto area may, in faqt, contain a fairly wide range of competence styles in both the prescribed performance areas. In this situation the kind of *immediate* reference group the child develops will determine the direction of the competence cues operating upon him. If on the other hand, the community is such that the job structure is strictly limited, then the range of competence styles in the ghetto will tend to be narrow and most probably the cues operating on the child will all be in the direction of styles which violate "mainstream" expectations. In such a case it would probably be true that almost every black child would be confronted with deviant competence cues emanating from neighborhood sources. In other communities still, the racial ecology may vary so that the Negroes are physically separated according to their social status. In such a community one would find middle-class Negroes living in one neighborhood while the working class and under-class Negroes are consigned to the slum-ghetto. On the assumption that middle-class Negroes most closely approximate in their life style the mainstream competence expectations, the children of the ghetto would in such a case be largely deprived of the opportunity to experience such styles or cues in their neighborhood. On the other hand the middle-class black children would not be threatened by the accessibility of deviant cues which might, had they been living in the slum-ghetto, impede their progress into the "mainstream." As far as the family competence milieus are concerned there will obviously be some variation from one individual to the next in a given community. But it is entirely possible that *the modal type of competence milieu* for black families may vary according to certain kinds of community characteristics. For example, one might hypothesize a more deviant modal type in those communities which have a high proportion of recent migrants from the South. Moreover one might argue that the greater the isolation of the black community from the community-at-large--economically, culturally, etc.--the greater the possibility of family competence milieus which deviate from mainstream expectations. In any case there may in fact be characteristic differences in familial competence milieus from one community to the next and any research employing the competence framework should not take for granted that it will be one way or another. What the characteristic competence milieu is, is an empirical question.[7]

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[6] *Note:* There is, of course, a fourth type of situation, one which in fact presents the greatest impediment to competence development. *It is possible for all three levels of influence to be integrated against the maximization of competence potential.* Such a circumstance would occur when the societal agents do not present the institutionalized competence cues. This occurred and probably still does occur in the American South where it has been characteristically assumed by the controlling whites that Negroes should *not* behave in the same manner as whites.

The comparative application of the model--when it is concretized by systematic empirical research--should, moreover, provide us with a characterization of types of American communities according to the degree of favorableness to the maximization of the Negroes' competence potential in prescribed or "mainstream" roles. Theoretically a systematic comparison using the *logic-of-influence model* should not only yield a picture of the nature of influence at each level (inclusive of the structural, cultural, and social psychological factors which define what direction that influence will characteristically take) but also a picture of the characteristic continuity or discontinuity between sources of influence as these are associated with a distribution of different types of communities in which black Americans characteristically find themselves.

The accomplishment of such a systematic comparative analysis using the *logic-of-influence model* would provide an empirical basis for intervention strategies. Innovators in education and public welfare would be able to consult the analysis and adapt their expertise to the different types of community settings in which they hope to have success in contributing to the maximization of the black man's competence potential (so that he in turn might compete successfully for the social and economic rewards so long denied him). Different settings will no doubt demand different strategies. We must emphasize once again, however, that the study reported in these pages does not accomplish the goal of such a systematic analysis. It is a study of *one community*; of *one setting* among the possible variations and while it is informed by the model we have outlined above it does *not*--for reasons which will become clear as we go along--strictly conform to its tenets. We present the study as a tentative and long overdue first step in approximating the comparative analysis of the black man's urban experience in America with particular reference to those factors which have impeded his development of those competencies which are characteristic of individuals who "make their connection" with the "mainstream" and reap the rewards proffered therein.

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[7] *Note:* It should be emphasized once again that in any community there will be some variation from family to family and from one child to the next. Such research as we are discussing, however, must focus not upon the individual differences but rather upon the conditions which best describe the nature of familial competence influence in general.

Let us now turn to a specific discussion of the methods employed in this study.

SECTION II: THE METHOD OF THE STUDY

The methods of social science have, in recent years, increased in sophistication. Social scientists can call forth from their repertoire of methods high powered statistical approaches, experimental designs allowing for ever more careful control over variables, mathematical simulations, etc. Things have come to such a pass that practicing sociologists have difficulty keeping abreast of the latest developments, and most academic departments either employ or seek to employ methods specialists who, besides teaching graduate students, serve as consultants to their less "sophisticated" colleagues. It is a cultural fact of life in contemporary American society that the more complex a method, a machine, or a process, the more it attracts attention both from professionals and the relatively uninitiated. So it has been in American social science. The more exotic the method the more often it can be clothed in high level and quantifiable abstractions, the more attention it attracts, and the more confidence is placed in its use.

While this is generally true among social scientists themselves it is even more frequently true of those non-social scientists in ancillary professions (i.e., in education, welfare, health, etc.) to whom social scientists often address themselves. It is not our intention to offer a full-blown critique of this trend but only to caution against too facile a devotion to "sophistication" (Mills, 1959) particularly when the sophisticated method can have little payoff in confrontation with meaningful social issues. We caution against the *inhibition of method* in which problem selection and/or formulation is governed by the researcher's commitment to a particular investigative style. We suggest that social scientists fit their method to the issue rather than vice versa, and that their audience develop an awareness of the fact that what is most *sophisticated* is *not* always most *relevant*. The questions which ought to be considered are: does the method fit the problem? does it take the investigator and his audience as far as possible in the direction of meeting the requirements for solution of a problem which has significance in the real world?

These general remarks are intended as a preamble for the methodological apologia which follows. Their appropriateness will soon be apparent, for as we describe the *conduct of our inquiry* the reader will no doubt discern a certain paucity of the "sophistication" we have just noted. What we have done is simple in conception although painstaking in execution and we consider it the most fruitful approach to our problem.

The Method of the Study: A Sociology in "Vivo"

Unlike many examples of the sociological enterprise our research was not undertaken to make a contribution--either theoretical or methodological--to the discipline of sociology. Two assumptions underlie this less than sanguine orientation toward the discipline. First, we assume that the issues surrounding efforts to establish racial equity in this society are so desparately in need of analytic intelligence that those possessing the tools for such intelligence must make use of them whether or not they are contributing to their discipline. Second, we believe that contributions which advance the discipline of sociology are more likely to come as the results of an application of the *sociological imagination* to issues of significance in society than when the scholar makes a conscious, purposeful attempt to advance the discipline. We believe that contributions to the discipline are often the unanticipated gains of scholarly confrontations with problems or issues which seem to cast in doubt the assumptions by which men live in normal society.

Ours is thus an exercise in *sociology in vivo*--an application of the sociological imagination to the flow of events as they confront us as actors in the society we seek to understand. We seek not those abstractions which simplify--and sometimes oversimplify--our apprehensions of reality. Nor do we seek those sweeping generalizations by which the analytic power of sociology is often measured. We are content to elucidate if we can those *social logics* which are operative in issues we deem significant in a setting we regard as important. In this regard we hope to depict in as clear a manner as possible 1) *what* is happening; 2) *how* what is happening does occur; and, hopefully, 3) *why* what is happening does occur.

There will probably be no challenge to our assertion that the racial dichotomy is a source of significant issues in American society. As far as our use of the competence framework is concerned the reader is directed to section I of this report for an elaboration of its significance. Some may, however, question the importance of the setting we have chosen for our investigation. Thus, before we proceed further with our discussion of method we should like to explain our choice.

The Choice of Community

There have been many studies of Negroes in urban areas. There have been relatively few studies outside the South which have *not* been concerned with Negroes in large metropolitan areas. Moreover, much of the thinking with regard to innovation and intervention in behalf of the impoverished--black *or* white--has taken the large metropolitan center as its point of reference. Finally, because of the recent spate of riots and related violence the race problem has become identified in the public mind with the "crumbling metropolis and its ghettos."[1]

The reader will remember that one of the concerns generating this study is the perceived need to broaden our understanding of the impact of the racial dichotomy in terms of variable urban contexts. Thus, in choosing the setting for our study we deliberately ruled out a large metropolitan area. In the original conception we hoped that we could select a non-metropolitan city which in some measure met the following requirements: 1) that it be large enough so that in absolute numbers there would be a black population large enough to allow a prima facie case to be made for the meaningfulness of the study; 2) that it be large enough to support a range of educational and welfare services similar to those found in large metropolitan cities albeit on a smaller scale; 3) that it be a community which is neither suburb nor satellite of a large metropolitan city.[2] While the first requirement would have had to remain operative in the selection of any setting for the research, the others might have varied. Alternatives might have been to study a community in which the full range of educational and welfare services were not provided as a matter of course within its boundaries, or to study a satellite city of a large metropolitan complex—perhaps a suburb in which the full range of services was not provided by the community itself.

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[1] *Note:* Not all the riots occurred in metropolitan centers—a number of other kinds of urban areas such as Rochester, New York, and Waukeegan, Illinois have seen riots. Nevertheless, the riots in Watts, Los Angeles; Hough, Cleveland; Chicago's West Side; and Harlem, New York City have attracted the most intensive and extensive media coverage; and as a result the racially toned property riots of the 60's have appeared to be "big city" phenomena.

[2] *Note:* We recognize the ad hoc nature of our criteria for selection. It might be argued that in developing a strategy for the comparative study of American urbanism—of which our research is one case—we should have used criteria derived from one or another of the extant schemes intended to classify different types of city, e.g., Albert Reiss, Jr., "Functional Specialization of Cities" in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Cities and Society* and *The Revised Reader in Urban Sociology*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957). Without going into detail about these classificatory schemes, we can only note that the criteria were not drawn from them because they did not seem particularly relevant for the analysis we have undertaken.

What is needed and what we did not have when we undertook this research is a method of sampling communities which would give us some assurance that the community chosen for study is representative of a class of like communities. The use of such a method would establish with greater exactitude than is now possible the limits upon generalization and strategies for intervention derived from the study of any given community. Lacking this we can only generate the criteria for selecting a community on an ad hoc basis; and the class of communities to which our findings are applicable must remain somewhat vague.[3]

Why was this particular set of criteria selected for the first of a series of community studies? We chose these criteria because they led us to a community for study which most closely resembled the kind of city--the large metropolitan center--which up until this time has attracted the most attention. We were, thus, able to focus attention on what is probably the most uncomplicated dimension by which cities vary, *scale or size*. Clearly, it would be foolish to maintain that by applying these criteria to the selection of a study setting we would be varying scale while holding all other factors constant. There are too many factors organizational, economic, political which the use of our criteria did not allow us to control. However, on issues relevant to the problem of the racial dichotomy we believe the choice of these criteria did highlight factors of scale or size. The first criteria--a city large enough to have a numerically significant Negro population--speaks for itself and needs no further elaboration here. Provision of a range of educational and welfare services not unlike the range found in the metropolis held the promise of allowing us to weight scalar factors as they effect the formal presentation of competence expectations in ghetto areas. The fact that our city was not to be a satellite or a suburb of a metropolitan city meant that in a manner not unlike the latter our city was not to be politically or economically dependent upon a single urban center external to it. Thus, on issues relevant to the racial dichotomy we would be able to trace scalar implications irrespective of the grossest (if not the more subtle) variations in the dependence/independence quotient.

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[3] *Note:* At this writing the principal investigator and members of his staff are attempting to develop a method for sampling communities in a manner relevant to the problem under investigation. This is being done so that further research along the lines of the study we are reporting will proceed without some of the handicaps which confronted us in this endeavor.

It is obvious that our entire analysis cannot focus upon scalar variation alone. Nor should it. There are too many factors, themselves in need of exploration, which would have required control. Nevertheless, the most obvious difference between any two cities is *size*; and it is, therefore, a good variable to highlight or begin with even though we can not totally isolate its impact upon the issues and conditions we have examined.

Now as to the selection of the community itself....During the period in which preliminary thinking about this study was underway, the principal investigator was invited to meet with a number of curriculum innovators who were associated with the *Institute for Research On Exceptional Children* at the University of Illinois. In the course of these meetings, it became clear that there was common ground between the educators and the sociologist. The educators were interested in developing curriculum innovations for the pre-school disadvantaged and the sociologist was interested in understanding the social conditions which are the source of the disadvantage. It seemed natural to entertain the possibility of some form of quasi-collaboration. From the point of view of the principal investigator the major stumbling block to such an arrangement was the nature of the setting for the fieldwork of his study. The curriculum innovators were planning a program to be located on the campus of the University of Illinois. The children thus involved would come from the urban area in which the university is located. If there were to be a co-operative relationship between the educators and the sociologist, the logic of the situation would be to undertake the research in the urban context from which the children were going to be recruited and in which the educational research was going to take place. For the principal investigator on this study the question became one of evaluating this urban area on the basis of the criteria he was using to select his setting.

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[4] *Note:* All cities exist in dependent relationships with communities external to them. Here we are simply avoiding a situation in which the non-metropolitan city, unlike the metropolitan city, would be markedly dependent upon a single center external to it. For a discussion of the general state of dependency in which all cities exist see:

Ames Hawley, *Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1950).

Superficially at least, the criteria seem to have been met remarkably well. The study site has a permanent population of approximately 96,000 people of whom approximately 8,200 or 9% are Negroes. The study site does have a range of educational and welfare services which compares favorably with those most frequently found in large metropolitan centers. Its schools, for example, have provided programs for the intellectually gifted as well as those who are intellectually handicapped. In fact, the schools in the area have for several years been noted for their special education programs. The education system also provides the standard range of college preparatory and pre-vocational fare. Welfare services also seem to approximate in their range the kinds of assistance one would expect to find in a metropolitan center. Citizens of this city can take their problems to the Department of Public Aid, the public health agency, the city hospital, several mental health clinics, a children and family services agency, the juvenile authority, a vocational rehabilitation center, and the public housing authority. Finally, the study site is located about 130 miles from the nearest metropolitan center. There is no evidence that it is politically dominated by that center. On the contrary, the style of political life is such that the site must be regarded as part of the downstate conservative Republican sphere while the metropolitan center has long been dominated by one of the strongest Democratic machines in the United States. Economically as well, there does not seem to be a special or satellite dependence upon the metropolitan center. There are several indicators of this situation. Hardly a heavy industry area, there are several plants representing such national companies as Humco, Kraft, and Magnavox in the area. Aside from these industries the local economy seems more oriented toward providing services for the surrounding rich agricultural areas and the university in its midst than anything else. Moreover, at the time we began our research the site was even more isolated from the metropolitan center than distance or political and economic factors indicate. Transportation between the site and the center was--and still remains--less than ideal. The major highway linking the two areas was two-lane for more than half the distance. Trains running between the two cities operate on a limited schedule so that commuting is infrequent and is engaged in mostly by university personnel who have business at a campus located in the metropolitan center. An airline connects the site with the center but scheduling and fares discourage frequent commuting. Not one of the center's television stations broadcasts into the site area and only a few of its radio stations do so. Like its larger counterpart the site, in many ways, serves as a transportation and communications hub for the surrounding region, possessing as it does a commercial air link and a rail freight terminal as well as three television stations, two commercial and one university.

In sum, there seems to be little question that the proposed study site did meet the criteria we intended to use as the basis for choosing a community in which to do our research. The problems encountered with regard to the proposed site did not arise because of difficulties in meeting the criteria but because of other characteristics of the area. These will now be described.

The basic problem in accepting the site as suitable arose from the fact that although the area is constituted of *one* community it contains *two* distinct cities. The site area, a physically contiguous urban agglomeration, contains two administratively independent municipalities. So contiguous are these twin cities that unless one searches very hard for a sign demarcating the common boundary between them one would never know when he is crossing from one city to the other. The implications of this fact cannot be easily ignored particularly because of the nature of our research. Two municipalities means two city governments (a council-manager form and a mayor-alderman form), two independent school systems (each with its own school board and superintendent), two police departments, two fire departments, two park boards, library boards, planning and zoning authorities, etc.--not to mention two distinctive taxing authorities (one city has a higher property tax rate than the other because of differentials in the distribution of industry and commercial property). Aside from the fact that this duplication of governmental agencies would double the field work for the study, it made the site less representative than desirable. There are few communities with roughly 100,000 population which are organized into separate municipalities.

A second difficulty arose from the fact that the proposed study site is the home of a major university. That this is so would lead us to expect that certain conditions would exist in the community which would not ordinarily exist in communities of like size and other similar characteristics. The university has approximately 30,000 students in attendance, undergraduate and graduate (most from within the state, but a significant number from other states and from countries other than the United States)[5] and employs approximately 5,000 faculty most of whom have received their educations outside the area. Thus, unlike other communities of the same size the proposed study site, having a somewhat cosmopolitan population, would be expected to possess a degree of sophistication on racial matters not present in other communities. Moreover, the fact of the university's presence would be expected to have some impact upon the community's schools. It is nearly a truism that schools located in university communities are almost always involved in one university program or another. They often claim to be "better" schools because of this involvment.

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[5] *Note:* When the university is in session the population of the twin cities swells to about 125,000.

This remains to be seen; nevertheless, it is true that they are likely to be somewhat different because of the involvement. Finally, it might be expected that the university because of its importance to the local economy would be a significant political force in the twin cities, a fact which if true would further restrict the representativeness of the proposed site community.

What appeared to be an easy or simple approximation of the criteria for selection became a dilemma. On the one hand the criteria for selection could be met. On the other, there were some very real questions which could be raised about the representativeness of the site community when one considers the population of communities which could possibly meet the criteria for selection. How many of them contain two municipalities as well as a large university? If we decided that the complications obviated conforming with the criteria then collaboration would have been impossible. By this writing it is obvious that we decided otherwise for the following reasons: First, although two municipalities exist in the area, it is clear that in certain important ways *there is only one community*. Aside from high school rivalries and friendly competitiveness among businessmen, the people in the twin cities regard themselves as residents, or citizens, of the same *community*. A perusal of the two local newspapers and the local television programming would seem to indicate this. There are, to be sure, problems which are identified with one municipality or the other, but they constitute *community* news and affect *community* thinking. An example of this may be instructive. School problems in one municipality do not go unnoticed in the other. When the school system of one municipality put a plan into effect which was intended to break up its pattern of de-facto segregation, the appearance of this plan served as an effective goad to the other school system. Or, on a less august level, an interracial fight in the schools of one city reported in the local papers is not simply of interest to those who live in the municipality in which it occurred but to every parent, black and white, who has children in one or the other of the twin-city school systems. Opinion is not restricted to one or the other municipality but runs through both as a single community.

Beyond self-conception there are other factors which indicate the presence of a single community. There are several key agencies whose administration and operation make little or nothing of the municipal boundaries. They are the Department of Public Aid (a county agency), the Public Health District (a county agency), the Public Housing Authority (a county agency), Children and Family Services, the Mental Health Clinic, the three major hospitals (one of which is theoretically the city hospital of one of the two municipalities). The boards of these agencies as well as those of some others do not make decisions in terms of a constituency and/or clientele of one municipality as opposed to the other. Decisions are made in terms of a constituency which cuts across the municipal boundaries. The situation in the area of the economy is much the same. The banks in the twin cities do not restrict themselves to clientele in the municipality in which they are located. Bank management conceives of the municipalities as more-or-less constituting a single economic unit. As far as can be determined regarding organized labor there are no duplications in union organization based upon the assumption that appreciably different working and wage conditions exist in the two municipalities. It should be noted that religious organization takes no cognizance of municipal boundaries. Churches for the most part draw their parishioners from throughout the area regardless of where they are located (except with regards to race) and the two ministerial associations--one quasi-liberal new church and the other fundamentalist conservative--are organized as though no boundaries existed to separate one city from the other. Finally, many adults although residents of one municipality spend most of their waking hours in the other simply because they work there.

Given these counter-factors (factors which run counter to the municipality split) we concluded that it was indeed possible to regard the study site as a single urban community for many purposes. However, we recognized the difficulties this assumption posed for data collection and analysis. Regarding data collection, in spite of the single community assumption, we still had to contend with duplication of government agencies. If our coverage of the formal competence agents was to be complete we would have to match our coverage to the agents. Given the duplication of some of these due to the municipal split, we would have to collect data on two agencies instead of one. This was a manpower problem, one which was simple enough to solve with our adequate resources. The problems associated with analysis, however, were more difficult. We wished to consider the site as *one* urban community. This we were able to do on certain levels. Using the logic-of-influence model explicated in section I, it was possible to regard the neighborhood, or black community, as a single sub-unit of a single larger community. For the most part municipal boundaries seemed to be ignored in the black community. As this was the case, we could also ignore the municipal boundaries when it came to selecting families for our study of familial competence milieus--all families belonged within the same sub-community. When the formal competence agents represented community-wide agencies they too posed no problem. But, proceeding on the one community assumption, how would we treat the competence agents and the agencies which duplicated each other because they had legal responsibility in only one segment or municipality of the community? Could we, for example, combine our data on the school systems--or did we have to separate the two? In opting for the proposed study site, a tacit assumption was also made: to reserve the decision on how to treat the problem of duplication. If independent analysis of our data indicated great variation in the operations of, let us say, the two distinct school systems then we would have to report on them independently. If, on the other hand, analysis indicated insignificant variation, it would then seem permissible to create a repertorial fiction by combining the data from both as though only one agency--in this case the school system--existed in the community.

After reflecting on the university's role in the community we decided that while it could not be ignored, it was less a biasing factor than had first seemed to be the case. In informal conversations with both members of the faculty and members of the black community the principal investigator received the distinct impression that for the most part the university had, historically, done very little to effect the course of race relations within the community. Very few Negroes (local or otherwise) had attended the university and it was not until the late 1950's that the university took any action to prevent discrimination against black students in the rental of apartments and rooms by local townspeople. Most people agreed that the university had never applied organized pressure on the community in behalf of the residents of the black ghetto. Whatever the impact of the university upon local race relations, it was certainly indirect stemming as it did from the efforts of a minority of its faculty who individually and collectively did at times try to improve the circumstances of the local black man's life.[6]

That the university had not taken an aggressive role with regard to race relations in the community is consistent with its rather passive general demeanor toward the local community. Because of what it has apparently regarded as its political vulnerability in an area noted for its conservatism, the university (that is, the university administrators) has generally deferred to local mores--although there has of late been some challenge of them. Except on issues such as easements and zoining ordinances--which have an effect upon its space needs--the university has remained aloof from community issues.

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[6] *Note:* It might be pointed out here that although the president of the university had gone on record in support of open housing, the university had not pushed for passage of open housing ordinances in the community. Restricted housing opportunities had led more than one prospective Negro faculty member to turn down an appointment. In 1967-1968 when other community groups began pressing for passage of such ordinances, university representatives did testify in support of them. However, there is no record of the university--as a corporate entity--taking initiative in proposing or working for such legislation.

There has undeniably been some university impact upon the schools. There is a history of research involvement in the local school systems. This has meant that the schools have been party to more innovation sooner than is likely to have been the case for similar communities which do not have a major university in their midst. University involvement, however, did not prevent de-facto segregation of elementary schools until the late 1960's. Although it is true that the university has assisted one of the cities in developing a desegregation plan, it is also true that it did not, as an entity, initiate or press for desegregation. It seems that the university's impact upon the local schools has been on the technical-professional level (curriculum innovation and teacher training) to the general exclusion of the policy level. In sum, while the university impact upon local education makes the schools somewhat unrepresentative for the class of urban community we are considering, there is no evidence that the schools are dominated by the university.

Every researcher knows that his efforts can never approach unity with the ideal in any given case with respect to design, procedures, and analysis. Because this is so, the researcher makes decisions after weighing the relative gains and losses effected by the selection of one course of action as opposed to another. The decision to accept the local community as the study site was made because in the judgment of the principal investigator more would be gained than lost by such a decision. Granted the site was less than perfect: evidence indicated that its deviation from what would have been ideal was not so great as to shake confidence in the generalizability of any findings for the class of urban community which was of interest. Moreover, there was a distinct advantage in the choice of the local community. Since the core of the study staff would have to be university people, it would have been impossible for the staff to be intensely involved in a community for the field period of three years if that community was any distance away from the university. The study could have been done, but not with the intensity of involvement we were able to effect because we were, ourselves, part of the community. Because this was the first of what we hope will be a series of studies, that intensity of involvement would seem to be a distinct advantage or, indeed, a requisite. Being thus involved this first time around will no doubt make it easier in later studies to be successful with less intensive attention. In beginning this research we had few guidelines. The next time around, on the basis of the experience we have gained, we expect that we will have such guidelines and will be able to better structure our inquiry from the outset.

For all of these reasons a decision was made to accept the local community as the research site and to enter into a collaborative relationship with the curriculum developers in the *Institute for Research on Exceptional Children.*

The Method and Its Execution

The design of our study is relatively simple. Since our intention was to evaluate the operation of the specified sources of influence--i.e., societal agents, neighborhood cues, family milieu--upon the competence development of black children in the community, the focus of our investigation was upon each of the levels of influence. Ideally we should have chosen a sample of black youngsters in the community and attempted to assess the impact of these influences upon them as they constituted a synchronous network. To do so would have been prohibitive in terms of cost and would have required a degree of sophistication both with regard to field procedures and the community which at the outset of our research we did not possess. Instead we proceeded with a three-phase model of inquiry, each phase conforming to a specified source of influence--family, neighborhood, and societal agents. It should be emphasized, however, that in isolating each source of influence for investigation we did not lose sight of the fact that the logic of influence upon any individual had to be synchronous.

We spent approximately one year in the field focusing on each phase. Although it might have seemed logical to begin either with the outermost ring in the concentric circle, the *societal agents*, or the innermost ring, the *family milieu*, we did in fact begin by focusing upon the middle ring, the *neighborhood cues*. This was done for the following reasons: The strategy of beginning with the societal agents was rejected because had we done so we would have begun with little or no knowledge of the way they connected with the black community. This would have meant approaching the societal agents without a first-hand knowledge of the roles they played within the black community and the manner in which members of that community perceived them. We assumed that without such knowledge we might miss pursuing some important questions. Starting with the societal agents, therefore, was rejected as premature. Starting with the family milieu was rejected because we were unfamiliar with the local black community. We assumed that familiarity would be helpful in both selecting the families we wished to study and in formulating the kinds of questions we wished to pursue. We elected to proceed first with a focus upon neighborhood cues precisely because such a focus provided us with a middle ground from which we hoped to derive information not only about the neighborhood milieu itself, for itself, but also information relevant to the other levels of influence in order to approach them with a level of local intelligence which would inform and enrich our inquiry into their impact. We decided that the order of inquiry should be *Phase I*, the neighborhood; *Phase II*, the family milieu (Once in the black community it was decided to follow the neighborhood phase with an inquiry into the family in the community.); *Phase III*, the societal competence agents.

The following material is presented to indicate in summary form the major facets of our approach in each phase. In each instance we shall begin with a description of field procedure and follow with a short discussion of the methods used in the analysis of our data.

Phase I: The Neighborhood

In the middle 60's black communities have become wary of outsiders descending upon them to ask questions and prying into their lives. Increased self-awareness and bitterness toward the "white power structure" has made it difficult for social scientists to gain access to these communities, particularly if they happen to be white social scientists. Thus it was decided that we might have greater success in the field during *Phase I* if for the most part we were represented by people who were both black and known in the local community. We recruited three field representatives at the beginning of our inquiry, two men and one woman; we added a fourth, a woman, during the following summer. Each field representative was half-time on the study while they each had a distinct identity in the community. One man was a clerk in a liquor store which was frequented by working and welfare class men who were habitual drinkers. We thought that his occupation placed him in a strategic location giving him *natural* access to a group of men who would otherwise be resistant to taking part in the study. The other man was a skilled civilian technician at a nearby air base. When he first considered joining us he was concerned that he might be "too middle class" to do the job. We asked him to join our staff in spite of the fact that he was indeed "middle class" because he was known and respected by young people in the community with whom he had had contact as a part-time youth worker. We assumed--and we were not disappointed in that assumption--that he might be particularly valuable as a field representative because he seemed to have a wide range of contacts within the black community. The first woman to join our staff was a matronly mother in her middle forties. She had a reputation as a kind and gentle person. We believed that she was well-known enough (she had been instrumental in organizing a community school) so that together with her very personable qualities she would be accepted by those with whom she had contact in the black community. This was true only in part. Perhaps because they saw her as a mother-type teenage girls tended to be reticent in her presence. For this reason we hired our final field representative during the summer months of our first field period. The woman we hired was a young trained social worker whom many of the teenage girls in the community had come to know and trust. True to our expectations she was particularly effective gathering relevant data among them.

Only one of the field representatives, the social worker, had any training in social science or social research. Care was therefore taken in preparing them each for a dual task. First they were asked to observe the behaviors of people in the community with whom they were familiar. Second, they were asked to engage informants in minimally structured interviews.

The observations were organized and recorded along the following lines:

1) the field representatives were requested to observe in environments with which they were familiar.

2) they were asked to record behaviors which they regarded as being typical for that environment.

Observation is a difficult art when it is a conscious act. We found that our field representatives were uncomfortable in the role and that their observations seemed restricted and without very much that was of value. To remedy this difficulty a different procedure was adopted. On the assumption that we are all better observers than we think we are--that is, as actors in common social situations we assimilate a great amount of data which we are not quite conscious of--the principal investigator instituted regular interviews with his field representatives in order to elicit relevant information which they possessed by virtue of the natural routines of their daily lives but which they did not know they possessed. Thus the field representatives themselves became informants for the study.

Interviewing informants was a complex procedure which required collaboration between the principal investigator and each of the field representatives. The procedure may be described as follows: The principal investigator, by his description of social and demographic characteristics, indicated to the field representative the kinds of individuals with whom he desired interview contacts be made. No set quota was placed on any type of individual. The field representative armed with such a description was then asked to contact people approximating that description whom they regarded as being particularly informative.

That the possibility of bias enters into such a procedure is undeniable. On the other hand, the procedure did maximize the flow of information. Let us assume for a moment that some type of randomized procedure was used to select informants. Whatever the gains in thus being able to estimate the effects of sampling error, we can assume that they might easily have been obliterated, for at least some of those chosen in such a procedure would likely have been relatively ignorant or otherwise uncommunicative about behavior in the community. It must be remembered that we were selecting informants, not *respondents*. We thus wished to select people about whom we had some assurance that they were knowledgeable concerning varying aspects of the black community. This "assurance" was provided by the field representative who might be regarded as something of an expert on people in the community.

Each field representative worked from an interview outline provided by the principal investigator. The outline was minimal and was constituted of a series of guides to areas of behavior and attitudes in the community which might be explored in a relatively informal conversation. Before going into the field each member of the staff rehearsed the interview procedure with the principal investigator. Because the principal investigator had prior experience in ghetto communities he was able to role-play in simulation of conversation situations. A check was run on the progress of the interviews. The study director systematically listened to the tape recordings of the conversations, to one of every three tapes turned in. Such listening allowed him to make in-progress corrections upon the conversation procedures of each of the field representatives. By doing this he could point to errors or oversights in the actual procedure so that the field representative would be aware of them in future interviews.

A word should be said about the nature of the *conversational interview*. In order to play down the interview aspects of such encounters, the field representatives were instructed to hold the conversations in what might be termed *natural settings*, i.e., places familiar to the informants. Conversations generally took place in the homes of informants, in the homes of the field representatives, in a local community center, and even in the liquor store where one of the field representatives worked. Most of the interviews were taken on a one-to-one basis, the informant and the field representative. There were some instances, particularly where adolescents were involved, when the interview took the form of a group discussion. In most of the interview situations the field representative used no notes, having committed the basic outline to memory. In one instance, however, the field representative had difficulty working without a written outline. After a concerted effort to improve the work of this person a decision was made to allow the use of a written outline.[7]

The basic intent of the conversational approach was to generate discussion in a particular substantive area--adult recreation, for example--and then let the informant take the discussion in any direction he wished in order to elicit as much depth as was possible. Of course the presence of a tape recorder in plain view of the informant was a constant reminder that this was no ordinary conversation. The field representative did work to overcome the inhibitions which may have restrained some informants. But we believed that the use of the tape recorder would provide us with a complete record of the conversation, would give us data which might seem unimportant in the situation but which might later provide us with clues to phenomena of unanticipated significance, and would also give the study director access to the interview situation so that he might progressively correct procedure. Again as in other situations, a choice of approach was made which, although less than perfect, recognized that much was to be gained by the use of tape recorders.

Analyzing the data for *Phase I* has been a long and arduous task. At this writing some analysis remains to be completed. The analysis of data proceeded in three stages--1) *classification*, 2) *profiling*, 3) *synthesis*. Our intention was to develop a systematic ethnography of the neighborhood or black community. When accomplished we would have a depiction of the community which would provide us with a sense of the competence cues that regularly emanated from it and which, no doubt, were having an effect upon youngsters who were consistently exposed to them. The first step in the analysis of the collected material was to bring some order to the data. This was accomplished by reading each transcript and by classifying the material therein. Each informant was classified by age, sex, marital status, and employment status. The material contained in each transcript was in turn classified according to the *activity area* for which it was relevant. The *activity areas* are listed as follows:

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[7] *Note:* The possibility of replacing this person was considered; it was rejected for the following reasons:

1) Selecting and retraining another individual would have been too time consuming.

2) The person in question had worked assiduously at making contacts for the study in the community. We felt that there would have been greater loss as a result of dismissal than if we adjusted the interview procedure in this one case.

- Education
- Housing
- Recreation
    - A. Social Functions
    - B. Availability and quality of formal facilities
    - C. Informal meeting places
    - D. Activities
- Police and Courts
- Private Services
    - A. Treatment at retail outlets
    - B. Accessibility of retail outlets
- Welfare Services
    - A. Accessibility
    - B. Treatment
    - C. Attitudes toward
- Health Services
    - A. Accessibility
    - B. Treatment
- Legal Services
    - A. Accessibility
    - B. Treatment
- Vice
    - A. Prostitution
    - B. Gambling
    - C. Illicit Liquor Sales
- Domestic Relations
    - A. Husband-Wife
    - B. Parents-Children
    - C. Buying habits
    - D. Household cleanliness
- Occupation
    - A. Unemployment
    - B. Types of Jobs available
    - C. Labor organization participation
- Crime
    - A. Adult
    - B. Idiosyncratic juvenile offenses
    - C. Juvenile gangs
- Local Politics
    - A. Community leadership
    - B. Attitudes towards white power
    - C. Political participation
    - D. Political issues of concern
- Philosophy of Life
    - A. Feelings about relative social position
    - B. General attitudes toward whites

Segregation and Integration
Sexual Behavior
  A. Adolescent sex practices
  B. Adult pre-marital sex practices
  C. Adult extra-marital sex practices
Miscellaneous--inclusive of materials on religious practice

All of these categories are 1) classifications directly relevant to the generation of competence cues (re: the scheme explicated in section I), 2) classifications relevant to the social context in which these cues are generated, or 3) classifications relevant to community links with formal community agencies, i.e., schools, welfare, courts, etc., with which the formal competence agents are associated.

Upon completion of the classification we had a distribution of data in activity areas for every group of informants (as classified on the basis of age, sex, marital status, economic or occupational status). In the next, or profiling stage, a summary statement, or profile of the data in all categories for each group of informants was prepared. This constituted a distillation of the best descriptive material collected from the groups of informants for each of the activity areas. The final, or synthesis stage, has involved drawing from the profiles a description of life and conditions in the black community with special reference to the question of the kinds of competence cues which are generated in this context. This last stage was undertaken solely by the principal investigator. There is nothing mechanical about what has been done. At this stage no formula for proceeding in this operation can be given which is transferable from this situation to others which are similar. The synthesis has depended upon the application of a *trained sociological imagination* to a body of organized material. The synthesis is thus an emergent--a product of the sociologist's immersion in his empirical materials. The principal investigator knows of no superior method by which to ferret out the *social logics* operative in *real situations*. It is the judgment of this sociologist at least, that the essence of good sociology is the practice of good sociologists; that the best guarantee of accuracy of insight is the attention of the best analytic device in sociology--the well-trained sociologist. If the researcher has been witless, if he has been without imagination, then the synthesis will be found wanting. If, on the other hand, he has been keen, then the synthesis will strike at the important issues and bring the audience to a greater understanding of what is really there and of the logic of its organization and operation.

Before closing this discussion of *Phase I* there are two issues which bear commenting upon. One is relatively minor and technical; the other is basic. Regarding the former, there may be some question as to why informants were classified by such empirical criteria as age, sex, marital, and occupational status. Why, for example, was not some form of explicit socio-economic class scheme used to organize the classification of the informants? In answer we would argue that such a scheme to merely classify the informants would have taken more effort than such a classification would have been worth. In this specific instance in our judgment it seemed that classification by easily accessible data was enough to establish the social location of our informants. Moreover, imposing before the fact any class formulation might very well do violence to actual life style differences as they exist in this particular black community. Rather than become involved in the methodological issues of social class analysis, we by-passed it although we are well aware that our groupings do reflect life-style differences which might be described in class terms.

The more basic issue may be articulated as follows: If our purpose is to describe the social logics operating in real situations, can these situations and their associated logics be determined from essentially repertorial data. Observations notwithstanding, most of the data collected and analyzed in *Phase I* was data which defined the situation from the perspective of people living within the black community. It might be argued that other perspectives gleaned from interviews with non-residents (i.e., social workers, policemen, public health nurses, etc.) should have been collected during this phase to serve as a corrective on the residents' perspective. Thus it might be said that the *reality* is not necessarily what the residents themselves perceived it to be. There is substantial validity to such an argument provided we do not distinguish between *objective* and *subjective* reality. By objective reality we mean that which would appear as the *consensual definition of a situation* arrived at, let us say, by a group of disinterested observers and analysts. Assuming some imperfection or deviation from what actually is, even in this depiction we would argue that since the observers are disinterested--having no axe to grind--their consensus would come close over the long run to defining the situation as it actually is.[8] *Subjective reality,* on the other hand, represents the definition of a situation which the participants themselves make. The definitions can be as different as the number of perspectives the actors bring to the situation. Thus the subjective reality of the black community depends upon whether you are a resident or a white policeman assigned to patrol it. If we failed to distinguish between the two realities as social facts then on the basis of the data we have collected we would be unable to assert that we had captured the reality which we seek (unless of course we collected data from other sources as a corrective on the community data). However, since we make the distinction we can in turn claim that our data allows us to assess the subjective reality (or the way things are collectively defined) of the black community as organized and perceived by the black residents themselves. Moreover since we are concerned with the competence cues emanating from this community it is the *subjective reality* which is important. Whether or not this reality can be objectified (i.e., whether or not disinterested observers of the community would perceive it in the same way) is, in the context of the problem we have set for ourselves, *irrelevant,* for it is the subjective reality--the consensus of those involved--which has impact upon competence development and behavior in general.

Phase II: The Family Milieu

In studying family competence milieus in the black community we adopted what might be called the *blind strategy.* In order to understand the selection of this strategy and its execution, we must first refer back to the *logic-of-influence* model (see Section I) which informs our research. A basic assumption of that model is that the three sources of influence--societal agents, neighborhood cues, and familial milieu--operate upon the individual child with different intensities; that the impact of the societal agents is least intense and the impact of the family milieu is most intense with the neighborhood cues occupying the middle position relative to the others. The differential intensity is an important factor because it implies that even under seemingly adverse circumstances where, for example, the neighborhood cues do not enhance the possibility of competence maximization a familial milieu which is competence enhancing might, hopefully in coalition with the societal agents, compensate for the neighborhood impediment. Conversely, it is an open question as to whether competence enhancing cues in the neighborhood, again hopefully in coalition with the societal agents, can compensate for a familial milieu which impedes the maximization of competence. In other words the model assigns to the family the probability of greatest impact on the child's chances for maximizing his competence potential. Just how much weight--less than, equal to, or greater than the combination of the two other sources of influence--is left undetermined. It was thus one of the goals of the family phase of the study to evaluate familial impact relative to the other sources of influence. The questions to which we addressed ourselves were: Does the family outweigh the other sources? If so, by what arrangements does it do so? We think these questions are crucial to a rational determination of intervention strategies. If family milieu does appear to outweigh a combination of the other sources, then intervention efforts might well be focused upon that institution. However, if family milieu, whatever its intensity of impact, can be compensated for, then the intervention efforts can be focused at the other levels--a situation which given the nature of the family institution bodes more optimistically for success. It is of course impossible to offer a definitive answer to these questions. Nevertheless, it was necessary to confront them in the context of our study. With this as background we opted for the *blind strategy* which will now be explicated.

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[8] *Note:* It is assumed that the observers are competent to arrive at such a consensus. Also the possibility should not be overlooked that even disinterest may inject a systematic bias into the observation and analysis rendering the consensus incorrect. Finally, it might be argued that there is no such thing as a completely disinterested observer of social affairs. If this were the case there would be no real way of "objectifying reality"; the presumed disinterest would merely be another perspective on what was going on.

It is interesting to note that presumed disinterest was among those qualities which led to the commissioning of Günnar Myrdal, a Swedish political economist, to undertake the massive study of the Negro in American society which eventuated in *The American Dilemma.*

On the basis of preliminary examination of *Phase I* data we believed it was safe to assume that full analysis of the data would indicate that overall the community presented cues which impeded the development of competence. Nevertheless during the course of our first year's investigation we had come into contact with individuals in the community who were highly competent, including some who had grown up in this black community. Thus, we could conclude that in some way these individuals had been able to manage (or have managed for them) their neighborhood environment so that its competence impeding qualities had little impact upon them. This phenomenon reinforced the principal investigator's concern for the implications of differential intensities of the sources of influence. While at that point we knew little if anything about the impact of societal agents or indeed the styles in which they addressed themselves to the black community, the fact that some people seemed to be able to surmount the neighborhood obstacles to competence maximization seemed to indicate that their family milieus (given the assumptions in the logic-of-influence model), possibly in consort with the efforts of societal agents, might have been competence enhancing enough to enable the deleterious neighborhood impact to be neutralized

In order to evaluate the impact of family milieu while at the same time allowing a continued focus upon the overall problem of the family milieu in the logic-of-influence model, we decided upon a typological sampling procedure focusing upon individuals with no prior knowledge of their family backgrounds. We decided that we would typologize the range of competence outcomes in individuals from those who were quite unusccessful to those who were quite successful (or competent) with a marginal group intermediate. We then selected a sample of individuals in each group and launched into a retrospective analysis of the competence milieus in their families during the period they were growing up. Theoretically by holding neighborhood cues constant we hoped to find some regularities in the familial backgrounds of those whose competence outcomes were similar. If the family milieu had enough impact to outweigh the neighborhood impact--either with or without the help of societal agents--this should be indicated by similarities in the backgrounds of the competent individuals which in turn would differ from the similarities we would expect to find among the marginals and the non- or incompetents. Such an evaluation as this could proceed while at the same time we examined the network of influence as a whole.

Ideally we should have typologized the competence outcomes of adults in the community (since it is adult competence or the absence of it which is of interest to us). However, doing that would have posed some logistical problems not easily surmountable. In the first place, while by its nature competence default finds its way into agency records which can be used to select a sample, it would be difficult except impressionistically to distinguish between the marginals and the competents without intensive study of their biographies. Thus, unless we were willing to trust to impression we would have to engage in an extensive study of adult individuals even before they and their families were or were not included in the study sample. Secondly, a typology involving adults might have turned up a large number who fit the criteria for one type or another but who would have had to be discarded because their families' orientation were inaccessible for one reason or another. If this were indeed the case, the only way to keep such individuals in the sample would have been to rely almost entirely upon their recall of their respective family milieus--a procedure which would have left much to be desired in the way of reliability and validity. In the face of such difficulties the study director decided that proceeding along these lines would have been too costly and time consuming in the context of the present study. Thus, an alternative approach was chosen.

Instead of typologizing the behavior of adults, it was decided that this could be done more easily with adolescents. Where adolescents are concerned there are school records which can be used across the board; even the successful youngster has a dosier in our school system (a happy occurrence for social scientists but perhaps not so happy from the point of view of the students!). By using the school rolls, by knowing the addresses which meant residence in the black community, and by operating with a pre-prepared list of youngsters, we were able to begin typologizing the behavior of black adolescents still in school.

Before continuing with this description of *Phase II* procedures, some remarks must be made in defense of our decision to typologize the behavior of adolescents. Proceeding with a developmental assumption, not unlike that in the work of Erik Erikson, that it is in adolescence when the individual struggles with the coming demands of adulthood (Erikson, 1950), we argue that difficulty or its absence during adolescence is a good predictor of future competence or the lack of it. Thus an adolescent who has major difficulty achieving in school is likely to have difficulty achieving as an adult; the absence of literacy may, for example, prevent his access to employment which is reasonably remunerative. An adolescent having interpersonal difficulties is likely to become an adult who will have them and is a prime candidate for default in those familial roles which necessitate interpersonal competence. We assume with some confidence that our typology of adolescent behavior is a fairly accurate precursor of a typology of adult behavior. We, therefore, used adolescents in the stead of adults.

The use of school records led us to those adolescents who were still in school. In order that we might extend our typology beyond this limitation, we made use of other records--those of the local juvenile authority and the local Department of Public Aid. Moreover, use of these records afforded us a cross-check on the backgrounds of those individuals already checked through the records of the school system. It should be noted that extending preliminary examination to records of these other agencies did not insure that all relevant individuals would be covered. Perhaps there were some on the unsuccessful end of the scale who had not come to the attention of one or another of these agencies. That limitation upon our procedure was recognized but we decided, given restrictions of time and resources, to ignore this possibility for the procedure being used a typological sampling frame could be developed.[9]

Using the records of all these agencies allowed us to develop an extensive list of adolescents in the black community whose current behavior had been classified as 1) *tending towards future competence;* 2) *marginal* or a mixed profile of competent tendencies in one area with tendencies toward default in another; or 3) *tending towards future competence default.* In some cases there were sibling variations; scores in these cases were combined and averaged and the adolescents were assigned to one type or another according to their average competence score (an arbitrary procedure to be sure but an unavoidable one given the logic of selection process whereby the family is selected according to the characteristics of the adolescents). It should be noted that both the school records and the records of the other agencies gave us some demographic data on the nature of the household of each youngster classified. Thus before we selected families for interviews we generally had before us such information as the following: 1) whether or not the household was characterized by an intact family, 2) the ages of members of the household (We found, however, that everyone in the household was not always noted in the records.), and 3) whether or not the household received any form of welfare (financial) assistance and the reasons for that assistance.

Using estimates of the time it would take to complete the interviews and the available resources for interviewing, the principal investigator decided to divide a sample of thirty families into three groups of ten--each group representing the families of adolescents in one classification as opposed to the others. From the sampling list already classified, the principal investigator purposefully selected the families to be included among the thirty. He chose in such a manner so that in each group there was a range of ages among the adolescents whose behavior was classified and also some variation in household or family structure. It should also be noted that in order to reconstruct the competence milieu of the household an attempt was made to inverview everyone in the household thirteen years or over, inclusive of the classified adolescent. (Thirteen was used as a cut-off because of the difficulty in getting reliable material from younger children in interview settings.)

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[9] *Note:* Our sample when drawn was not representative in a statistical sense. It was by no means a probability sample. However, our intention in this part of the investigation was not to use statistical estimates for population parameters. Rather we were concerned with looking at the interplay of factors in the families of those classified differently in the typology. Thus, we may argue that the sample was typologically representative--instead of statistically representative--and that this quality was sufficient for our purposes.

All told ninety-four persons in the thirty families were extensively interviewed.[10] Whenever possible an entire household was interviewed at the same time in order to mitigate data contamination which could have arisen when a previously interviewed member of a household discussed the content of the interview with a member of the household who had not yet been interviewed. Each interview was tape recorded and whenever possible the interviews took place in the project rooms at the university. This was done to insure as much privacy as possible. The interviews were of a *semi-structured type*. Each interviewer was given an interview outline containing questions covering the minimum number of areas in which materials were to be collected. The interviewers were given some leeway in wording questions and were encouraged to meander into areas which were not on the outline but which seemed important to the individuals they were interviewing. The interviews were intended to elicit materials--life history and otherwise--which could be used to reconstruct the competence milieu in the household of the adolescent. Besides ordinary pre-testing, the interviewers, under the guidance of the field supervisor, spent a considerable period of time rehearsing the interview procedure. Finally, as in *Phase I* the tape recording of interviews allowed correction and improvement once interviewing began. The field supervisor spot-checked tapes and made the necessary corrections with the interviewers.

Reconstruction of familial competence milieus has proven to be a long and difficult process. At this writing the reconstructions are not yet complete. Part of the time delay has been a function of trial and error attempts to code and organize the data from the transcripts. A full eight months was given to this enterprise before a satisfactory albeit time-consuming approach was devised. Early efforts focused on developing a scheme standardized enough so that assistants on the project could themselves do the reconstructions. Neither the assistants nor the principal investigator found any of these attempts to be reasonably productive. After many trials, a decision was made to have the assistants work on a preliminary screening of the transcripts whereby irrelevant material was edited and the most relevant materials highlighted. The actual reconstructions were then left to the principal investigator, and as in the case of the *Phase I* synthesis, they are the products of an application of a disciplined sociological imagination. The process of reconstructing is a long and painstaking one.

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[10] *Note:* The interviews were carried out by a staff of eight interviewers, five black and three white, under the direct supervision of Mrs. Audrey McNattin, field supervisor.

Phase III: The Societal Agents

In *Phase III* two empirical quests dominated our activity. In the first we were interested in the style and activities of those who took the role of societal agents of competence, particularly those who did their work in the black community. With regard to these people we had a particular interest in 1) the manner in which they presented their "competence message" in the black community, 2) the assumptions they made about or the preconceptions they had of the people whom they regarded as their clients, 3) the organizational contexts of their efforts.

Our second area of inquiry was more broadly based. We assumed that in order to get some grasp of the general context in which Negroes live, we needed to observe the operations of those white-dominated organizations and agencies which, on the basis of our previous years of inquiry in the black community, seemed to have the greatest impact on the lives of people living within it. Thus, for a period of one year we engaged in systematic observation of a number of these local agencies and organizations.

The following is a description of our inquiry for both aspects of *Phase III*. Let us first discuss the societal agents. We knew, of course, that we would have to focus on the schools as a major agency of competence in the community. Beyond the schools, however, we had only impressions as to which agencies were particularly important in the black community. (These impressions were derived primarily from our previous work in the black community.) We decided to test these impressions in a more systematic manner. A panel of four social workers with wide experience in the community was asked to rank community agencies according to their perception of the involvement of these agencies in the black community. A ranking of mean scores was used to pick the five most frequently involved agencies other than the schools. They were 1) the Department of Public Aid, 2) the Health Department, 3) the Salvation Army, 4) the Public Housing Authority, and 5) the Township Supervisors (four elected officials who have at their disposal funds for emergency relief). Each of these agencies was contacted, the study was explained,[11] and we requested co-operation in setting up interviews with agency personnel. Co-operation was forthcoming with all but one, the Township Supervisors.[12] Our interviewers using minimally structured outlines set out to interview at all levels within each agency. Wherever possible these were tape-recorded. We did find, however, that when interviewing administrators in these agencies it was best not to use the tape recorder. Apparently many of those who held such positions felt more at ease when talking about sensitive subjects if the recording device was not being used. Each interview was intended to elicit the following information from the perspective of an individual taking a specific role within the agency: 1) the general philosophy of the agency, 2) the agency's methods of putting the philosophy into operation, 3) sources of resistance to the agency's work, 4) specific efforts in the black community, 5) aspects of the agency program needing change from the perspective of those who were actually involved in carrying out agency objectives--social workers, nurses, etc., 6) the nature of their experience in the black community.

Studying the schools involved a special effort, the history of which ought to be in the record. Because most of the black children in the community attended school in one of the cities as opposed to the other and because most of the problems having to do with race seemed to exist in that system[13] it was decided to focus our research on that school system. However, at the time we began our field work for *Phase III* two factors complicated our task in this school system. First, the system was under pressure to present a satisfactory desegregation plan which at the same time would not generate too much backlash from the whites in its constituency. It had devised a plan which neither the whites nor the blacks found completely satisfactory, a plan in which the elementary schools were desegregated but which involved the involuntary bussing of the black children only.[14] Thus, at the time we wished to do our field work in the schools, the system was trying to work its way out of a controversy of great intensity.

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[11] *Note:* Throughout the course of the study we always took pains to explain the nature of our work to those whose assistance we enlisted in interviews or otherwise.

[12] *Note:* We were eventually able to complete our interviews with them.

[13] *Note:* This is not to imply that the other system had no race problems. However, a set of fortuitous circumstances in the part of the community served by that system tended to mitigate its severity. These factors included a high proportion of faculty families, a small black population, and significant representation of faculty on the local school board.

Besides the controversy over desegregation the system was undergoing a major administrative transition. At the time we wished to enter the schools a new superintendent was becoming acclimated to a system that had been dominated for years by a strong personality who had retired the year before. As is common in bureaucracies when there is a change at the top there were also changes being initiated throughout the administrative structure of the system. Some of these changes, of course, upset previously well-entrenched persons with the resulting dissatisfaction of those affected. Thus not only was the school system embroiled in a community controversy but it was also under strain as the result of a burgeoning internal conflict. The reader will agree that this was hardly a propitious state of affairs for the success of our field efforts. Thus, we decided to delay approaching the schools directly for as long as possible, hoping that the situation would cool down somewhat. By March of 1968 (with the situation not much better and perhaps a little worse with regard to the internal issue) we decided that we could wait no longer. Contact was made through the superintendent who, surprisingly, agreed to be interviewed and to allow interviewing of professional staff on all levels providing they gave their assent. There was a single proviso: the superintendent believed that because of the touchiness of the situation in the schools it would be best if all the interviews were taken by a single researcher, namely the principal investigator. Given the necessity of getting these interviews and the urgency imposed by the approaching end of the school year, it was decided to proceed under this constraint. Thus, from sometime in March to early in July when the last interview with a teacher was taken, the principal investigator spent a good part of his time in and around the environs of the school system. Interviews were taken with staff members at every level of the school system. Included among these were interviews with the superintendent of schools; the assistant superintendents for instruction and business; the director of the special education program; the principals of all secondary schools, junior and senior high schools except one (the principal of one high school made an appointment to be interviewed in his own office but for no accountable reason failed to keep the appointment). Interviews were also held with the principals of those elementary schools which either already had a considerably large black student body or which because of the plan to desegregate would soon have Negro pupils in spite of vocal opposition of white parents who already had children in the school; and finally, with a sample of teachers and counselors representing every academic, vocational, and most of the remedial programs in the system. Interviews taken in the school system were essentially similar to those taken in the other agencies except for an additional focus on the controversy over desegregation and the preparations being made to deal with the pedagogical and policy problems attendent to it.

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[14] *Note:* The plan was rather complex and involved the collaboration of the university which in this case acted as a *deus ex machine* for the school system. The university undertook to run a lab school in a previously all-black elementary school. This had the effect of drawing a voluntary white group into that school while the majority of the black students formerly in attendance there were dispersed throughout the other elementary schools in the system.

[15] *Note:* It was a very interesting state of affairs as far as our research was concerned. We could be entering the system when it was under pressure, in one instance at least because of the community's racial problems. Substantively we could not ask for a better situation. However, the problems posed for the execution of the research by such conditions were major indeed.

Aside from the agencies already noted, two others which had considerable contact with the ghetto youth were studied. These two--the juvenile office of the police department in the city where most of the blacks live and the county probation office--were not included in the first go-round because they are essentially *control* agencies rather than ameliorative agencies, even though members of their staffs see their jobs as encompassing both functions. Because of their extensive contact with ghetto adolescents we later decided to include them in the study. Interviewing with staff members of these agencies was carried out in the same manner and with the same intent as the interviewing in the primarily ameliorative agencies.

Since the *Phase III* field period was not concluded until August, 1968, the analysis of the data is at this writing still underway. We are trying in this analysis to understand how these agencies face onto the black communities, what they say they are trying to do in that community, what they are actually doing, and the reasons--organizational or otherwise--for those deviations between professed intentions and actual outputs which do exist. In sum we are primarily interested in the manner in which these competence agents accomplish their tasks with regard to the black youth of the community. It should be noted that we are also interested in evaluating the intentions which guide the efforts of these agencies, for there exists the very real possibility that these intentions in and of themselves are inappropriate to the obliteration of impediments to competence development.

In order to accomplish the tasks just outlined we are analyzing each agency as a discrete entity probing the issues in terms of the responses we have accrued from personnel differentially placed in them. The final step in this analysis is to summarize the array of competence agents facing on the black community and to evaluate the total of intentions and outputs which affect the lives of those who are growing up in that community.

The more general study of white-dominated organizations and agencies affecting the black community has proceeded as follows: On the basis of a consensus among those who had been involved with the study for a period of time a list of organizations or public agencies having great impact upon the local black community was put together. The meetings of these organizations or agencies became the focus of intensive observation throughout the course of the *Phase III* field period. Those which, on the basis of early observations, seemed to be very important received sustained coverage. The others were observed only when there seemed to be an issue of particular relevance to the black community which arose for consideration by them. The following is a list of those receiving sustained coverage:

1) County Board of Supervisors
2) The City Council of City #I
3) The City Council of City #II
4) The Board of Education of City #I
5) The Board of Education of City #II
6) The Park District of City #II

The following is a list of those receiving focused coverage:

1) The Economic Opportunity Council (OEO affiliate)
2) The Model Community Co-Ordinating Council
3) The League of Women Voters
4) The Human Relations Commission of City #I
5) The Urban Renewal Authority of City #I
6) The Park District of City #I
7) Churches in the white community

At each meeting of these bodies where the study staff was involved, *two* members of the staff were assigned as observers. Observers were instructed to report verbatum accounts of what transpired as nearly as possible. This was done so that observer judgments, which of course cannot be standardized, would be minimized as well as their readings of the tone of exchange or the emotive content of the meetings. Two observers were assigned on the assumption that their reports would compliment each other by covering some of the repertorial gaps of each and by cancelling or confirming judgments on emotive content. Where the same emotive content was reported in both, the reading was accepted as accurate; where only one report contained a judgment on emotive content, the reading was questioned; where each report contained opposite judgments, the readings were considered to have cancelled each other out.

What residents regarded as the unfair administration of justice when Negroes were involved in court cases we learned was a major grievance in the black community. Since Negroes had more than their share of contact with the courts, we decided to do sustained observation in them. Observing in the courts at a time when they were under increasing fire in the community constituted a ticklish situation. The appearance of our observers time after time in the courtroom was sure to be recognized (as indeed it was), and we did not wish to become embroiled in the controversy surrounding the courts (at least not at the time we were actually in the field). Graduate students are regarded with suspicion and some hostility in the local community; therefore, we decided that graduate assistants would be poor choices for court observers. Instead we chose local women on the assumption that as women and local residents they would be less threatening to court personnel. This assumption proved correct. After appearing in court a few times, the magistrates, judges, and attorneys invariably querried our observers as to their business there. The observers were instructed to explain that they were working for a professor at the university, that they were doing a study on the kinds of contacts people have with different agencies in the community. If questioned further, they were instructed to explain their work in greater detail. This explanation sufficed in each case and the observers were not at all harassed during the eight months of field work in the courts. On the contrary, they were invited to coffee with the judges and other personnel who were quite free in their commentary on court practices. Such contacts made possible a number of formal interviews taken with judges and others at the close of the field period.

The procedure in the courts was similar to that used in observations of other public bodies. The observers were instructed to take as near verbatum accounts as possible of court proceedings, to exercise as little editorial judgment as possible. From these accounts we hoped to piece together as accurate an account as possible of the nature of the black man's experience in the courts of the community.

Supplementary to observations of the organizations and the courts we kept notebooks of clippings from the two local newspapers. In fact the notebooks contained any racially relevant local story which appeared during the last two years of the study's field period.

From all of this collected data we hoped to reconstruct the nature and quality of the black man's contact with the white man's institutions in the community we chose for our study site. In other words, we hoped to tease out the *social logics* which bound black and white together in what might be termed *assymetric symbiosis*.

It is of course true that doing so extends the inquiry somewhat beyond the *logic of influence* model. However, as we have noted earlier, the model was not intended to restrict the natural serendipity of the research process. We undertook this extension because we came to believe that it was necessary to understand the symbiosis occurring between the relatively powerful in the community (the white dominated organizations) and the relatively powerless in the community (most of the black residents). We came to feel the necessity of this understanding because we realized that educational and welfare innovations in the context of any given community must ultimately become political issues. Whatever the laboratory viability of an innovation, its community viability is not thereby assured. Moreover, its community viability (or lack of it) will be largely beyond the control of the professionals and in the hands of those who, usually without expertise in these areas, make decisions which can either enhance or destroy the possibilities of success: those who sit on policy boards in the community and those who--formally or informally--influence them.

It was for this reason, too, that we embarked upon the final data-gathering task in the study. We had observed the public proceedings of formal bodies, but it was apparent to us as well as to members of the black community that public decisions were often the products of private influence (this became apparent to us, in part because of our sustained observations of public proceedings). Thus, if an understanding was to be derived of how decisions affecting the black community *really* came to pass, it was apparent that we would have to reach the private influentials (perhaps not so private, but influentials nevertheless). In effect, this task was one of studying the white power structure of the community, albeit with specific reference to the issues connected with race and poverty.

There is a vast literature on community power structure and decision making. Both political scientists and sociologists have considered these related problems as important areas to be investigated. In brief summation this literature presents us with 1) two basic alternative formulations on the nature of community power structure in American society and 2) serious methodological doubts about the provability of one thesis as opposed to the other. The first alternative usually associated with sociological studies in this area holds that power distributions in communities are monolithic in nature (Hunter, 1953); that public decisions on almost any matter are influenced by a relatively small coterie of men at the top--usually businessmen holding no formal political office. The second alternative usually associated with the efforts of the political scientists holds that the typical power distribution in American communities is pluralistic (Dahl, 1961); that there are *hierarchies* of power associated with distinct community issues--zoning, welfare, education, etc.--rather than a single structure contolled by an elite with generalized influence.

Two methodological approaches have been used in studies of community and each has been closely associated with one of the two alternative theses (so much so that some have argued that diverse findings in conformity with each of the alternatives are the function of the method used to elicit them). The *reputational* approach has generally used a panel of informed people who are questioned as to who the powers in the community are. Those who are consistently reputed to be powerful are then recognized as the elite with generalized influence. The *decisional* approach seeks to trace out the involvements of individuals and the degree to which they exercise influence with regard to actual decisions made on issues within the community.

Each approach has been the target of some telling criticism. Those who have criticized the *reputational* approach have pointed out that reputations are not always earned or valid, or that at best without corroborative evidence, all the method can do is indicate those in the community who have the *potential* for influence. Unless, they argue, there is direct evidence of generalized exercise of influence through behavior there is no evidence that the potential is, in fact, an operating force getting things done in the community. Those who have criticized the *decisional* approach have argued that power is simply not always exercised in public and that by focusing upon issues it is possible to ignore an even greater power--the power which prevents an issue from arising or becoming part of the public consciousness.

Thus, in approaching the question of white power over the destiny of blacks in the community we were without either a universally accepted theory or a universally accepted methodological paradigm for its study--in spite of the widespread social science interest in problems of community power. We could, of course, have adopted one alternative or the other. Our observations of the deliberations of public bodies perhaps seems in line with the *decisional* method. However, neither thesis and neither of the methods appeared so strong to us that we should feel secure in organizing our inquiry in terms of them. Instead we adopted what might be called an *empirical-tracer* approach to the problem. We made no assumptions about the nature of power in the community. We began instead by playing hunches or, better said, by taking educated guesses of the most minimal kind.

Using our previous observations of public bodies in the community as well as the newspaper accounts of issues relevant to race and poverty in the community, we drew up a list of those people who had been publicly identified with the decision making process on each of the issues. These were our *dramatis personae*, those who had been clearly part of the action. The question of whether or not any of the dramatis personae could also be classed as influentials was left open, a matter to be decided after interviewing them and placing the results of such interviews in the context of their publicly identified roles vis-a-vis the issues in question. Our staff took interviews--most of them tape recorded--with almost every individual thus identified (including the township supervisors identified earlier as welfare agents whom we could not interview when we were studying the five ameliorative agencies). Each interviewer was given an outline of areas to explore in these interviews, inclusive of the history of the individual's involvement in community affairs; his philosophy vis-a-vis race problems, poverty, etc.; his specific involvement with the issue or issues which had, in fact, brought him to our attention; and the names of those with whom he had collaborated on these issues and on other projects in the past. Our list of people who might possibly be considered influentials in the area of race was thus extended through the interview process itself. Beyond this list we chose a number of names of individuals who in the course of our earlier efforts we had come to recognize as reputed influentials if not dramatis personae. All told, we interviewed 75 *dramatis personae* and potential influentials. All of this interviewing was supplemented by an independent study of overlapping leadership positions in important financial organizations within the community. This little study was undertaken to determine whether or not anything would turn up which would validate or invalidate conclusions derived from the interviews.

It must be remembered that our primary intent in undertaking this search for the white power structure in the community was in fact to evaluate how elements of this structure left their impact on the destinies of black men. We felt the study was necessary for the development of intelligent intervention strategies which must ultimately be considered political. Thus we were not testing either of the power structure theses. However, if we should conclude that one or the other of the alternative formulations fits better in the community such a conclusion would be significant. If the power structure were monolithic then strategies would focus on a small number of men who had generalized influence. Convince them--in one way or another--and there would be a path relatively clear of obstacles when the time arrived for introducing innovations into the community. On the other hand, if the power is pluralistically distributed in the community, strategies would have to be developed which are not only intended to convince those who are influential in these areas related to race and poverty (i.e., education, welfare, the legal system, etc.) but also to neutralize possible opposition from influentials in other functional areas who might for one reason or another see their interests threatened by the innovations of which we are speaking. If the power structure is indeed pluralistic the probability of community conflict is greater because there exists the potential for clashes between the functionally differentiated influentials.

The Historical Study

Ancillary to the major field procedures just described we also engaged in some historical research on the development of the black community in the urban area which was our study site. Such research made use of 1) anecdotal histories taken in interviews with residents whose families were known in the community for their long history there; 2) newspaper coverage of blacks in the community beginning at the turn of the century; 3) census materials; and 4) reports of community organizations. This research was undertaken on the assumption that contemporary events are often misinterpreted without the benefit of historical perspective. Thus, we believe that our interpretation of results for the three sources of competence influence will be enriched by the historical knowledge we bring to it. A full history will not be presented here; however, data from this research will be drawn upon, explictly and implicitly, from time to time when it seems appropriate.

Conclusion

The above constitutes a description of the *conduct of our* *inquiry*. In it an attempt has been made to acquaint the reader with what we did and why we did it. In doing so we hope that those who examine the substance of the report which follows (as well as the fuller monograph which is forthcoming) will be able to form judgments about the faith they wish to place in our results and recommendations. We have forsaken facile sophistication for the "nitty-gritty" of social research which is issue or problem oriented, rather than discipline oriented. We think there is wisdom in such an approach.

SECTION III: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this section a report of findings will be made in a somewhat abbreviated form.[1] We intend to present a discussion of our findings in two parts. In the first we shall explore the black experience in a middle-sized urban community. In part two we shall interpret our findings on competence development in terms of the *logic-of-influence* model posited in section I.

Part I: The Black Experience in the White Community

The community we have studied is in every meaningful way a white community. True, in this city of nearly 100,000 people approximately 9% of the population is black. True, Negroes have been part of the area's population for over one hundred years. In spite of these facts, however, it can not be denied that the community, inclusive of its black population, is and has been characterized by a *white social system*.

In noting that the community is characterized by a *white social system* we mean the following: For the most part decision-making relevant to any of the community's institutions--and in particular the economy and the polity--occurs irrespective of the wishes and needs of its black population. This is less true in the present than it has been in the past (the national consciousness of the race problem has had *some* effect) but it is nevertheless true that Negroes (as well as some lower-class whites to be sure--see David Harvey's study in this volume) are not institutionally significant in spite of their numbers in the community. Perhaps some concrete examples will clarify this circumstance for the reader:

1) *The Urban Renewal Controversy*

> In 1965 the city council of one of the two municipalities undertook to explore the feasibility of an urban renewal project which would involve a major physical transformation of a segment of the black ghetto. The plan under consideration involved extensive condemnation proceedings against sub-standard homes owned by blacks.

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[1] *Note:* A full report of the findings of this research is forthcoming in a monographic format.

The owners of these homes would receive market value compensation for their property and would, theoretically, have first priority in relocating. Moreover these homeowners would be among the first of those to be housed (if they so desired) in new public housing units which urban renewal would bring to the community. (It should be noted that the original plan proposed that these units be built primarily within the ghetto area. Because the federal government objected, the proposal called for construction just west of the railroad tracks which have served as the ghetto's western boundary.) Various Negro groups organized in opposition to the urban renewal plan, claiming among other things that the plan would only maintain the ghetto and that market value compensation would work a severe economic hardship upon those who would lose their homes. With regard to this latter objection it was argued that since the market value of the dwellings in question was low, compensation would not be sufficient to cover housing costs for those who would be dislodged. No matter the condition of the dwellings in question, many were owned outright. The renewal plan, it was argued, would force these people of limited means to begin paying for housing at rates way beyond their present housing costs. In spite of the organized opposition from Negro groups in the community the urban renewal program was approved by the city council. The proponents of renewal--almost all of whom were white--were able to mobilize significant support for the program from among the business, educational, and social welfare establishments in the community. Whether or not urban renewal was an appropriate solution to the physical decay in the ghetto area (and it should be noted the urban renewal has been much criticized throughout the U.S.) it is clear that the decision to go ahead with the program represents an almost total disregard for the wishes of those most seriously affected, a large and organized segment of the ghetto's black residents.

2) *Labor Union Exclusion*

Skilled craft unions, with one exception, exclude black workers from their rolls. In spite of protests from Negroes in the community, no action to remedy this practice has been taken by those who conceivably have the power to do so. Building contractors have taken no action. The local clientele--those who are having construction work done--have generally remained oblivious to the Negroes' grievance. Even the university, perhaps the most significant construction client in the community, has largely refused to risk the progress of its building program by moving to enforce the non-discrimination clause in its contracts with construction companies (non-discrimination clauses are required in contracts underwritten in whole or in part by the federal government). The resulting exclusion is so great that vocational education instructors in the public schools are loathe to prepare Negro youths for careers which would require union membership. The standard response to accusations of discrimination in vocational training is "what's the use of preparing people for jobs they will not be able to get?"

3) *The Burden of School Desegregation*

Because of the highly segregated residential patterns in the community, the elementary schools remained segregated on a de-facto basis until 1967 in spite of earlier requests from Negro leaders that steps be taken to rectify this situation. In 1967 one of the two school systems in the community moved to desegregate its schools under an implied threat from the federal government to withhold federal aid to the district. Desegregation was carried out without disturbing the neighborhood school concept in so far as white permanent residents of the community were concerned. The only white children to be moved from their original school in the system's bussing plan were those children whose parents were graduate students at the university and therefore transient in the community. In this case desegregation occurred not in response to the black petition which had been before the school board for some time, but in response to external pressures and it was planned in a manner calculated to minimize the burden of the community's white residents. One year later the community's second school system followed suit with its own desegregation plan. This plan involved the *involuntary* bussing of black children from ghetto schools into schools distributed throughout the city and the *voluntary* bussing of white children into the ghetto to attend class in a school operated jointly with the university as a lab school. In reflecting on the point we are illustrating--the existence of a *white* social system in the community--it should be noted that the move to desegregate did not come about as the result of black petition, but because of growing external pressures on the school system to desegregate. Moreover, the bussing plan which was finally put into effect was adopted over strong objections from representatives of the city's black population who believed that it was unfair to place the burden of bussing almost entirely upon the black children who had previously been wronged by the segregated system. It is

> indeed true that the community's whites were inconvenienced not at all by the desegregation plan. Only those white children whose parents desired them to attend the lab school have been bussed while Negro parents, for the most part, have had no alternative to bussing. If the old educational arrangements were finally to be changed it would be the blacks who would bear the inconveniences almost exclusively.
>
> 4) *The Ghetto as a Residential Dumping Ground*
>
> The ghetto is also a slum. Neither of the two municipalities has shown any predisposition to enforce minimum housing standards in the area. When a civil rights group in the community went to the state's attorney's office to swear out complaints against landlords, white and black, who refused to pay heed to the housing code, they were unsuccessful. At worst the attitude in the community has been protective of those landlords who take advantage of the ghetto situation to charge high rents for less than adequate shelter; at best the attitude has been one of mindless neglect. The housing problems of the black poor are simply not of concern to the majority of whites in the community. One practice in particular has distressed many Negro spokesmen. For a long period of time several white landlords have received permits from the city to move condemned houses from other parts of the city into the ghetto where they are rented to the housing poor blacks. In spite of vociferous protest the practice has been allowed to continue.

If space permitted other instances which reflect the neglect of the black man's wishes could be cited in illustration of his institutional insignificance in the community. It should suffice, however, to note that it is rare for the position of Negro residents to take presidence over the conflicting position of whites in the community.[2]

The black man's *institutional insignificance* is of no little importance when we consider the problem of competence development.

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[2] *Note*: In further support of this contention have been practices in the not too distant past of 1) exclusion of Negroes from clerical and sales jobs in community business (a practice not altogether absent in the present), 2) refusal of service in some downtown stores, 3) segregated seating in movie theaters, and 4) recurrent derogatory depictions of Negroes in the local press.

The Negro's institutional insignificance in the general community's social system intensifies his dependence upon the (ghetto) community for a meaningful social existence. The character of that community--its expectations for behavior, its system of positive and negative sanctions--becomes central in invoking the behavior of any given individual within its boundaries because there is, for the most part, no other community in the city for these individuals. The rebuff which Negroes have experienced in the community-at-large has drastically reduced the normative impact which that community can have upon their lives. At this point, without commenting on the quality of role playing on the part of the community's competence agents (i.e., teachers, social workers, etc.) as they face onto the ghetto, we *can* note that from the perspective of many of those in the black community the credibility of these agents (their sincerity, their genuine willingness to be helpful) is undermined by the fact that they are outsiders whose efforts are sponsored by a community which has regarded them as fellow citizens only *infrequently*. From the perspective of the *logic-of-influence* model this state of affairs serves to increase the significance of neighborhood and family in determining competence outcomes for people growing up in the ghetto while concomitantly weakening the role of formal competence agents in determining the character of these outcomes. While it is true that the societal competence agents are likely to have a relatively less intense impact when compared to neighborhood and familial sources in any circumstance, we may note that the intensity of their impact is either increased or decreased according to the degree to which their target population is *functionally integrated* into the overall community. We shall draw out the implications for the socialization of competence of the black man's institutional insignificance in the community we have studied. First we shall enter some further documentation of the Negro's generally disadvantageous position in the community-at-large.

The physical characteristics of the black ghetto in the community seem on first observation to be significantly different from the ghettos of larger cities. Whereas large city ghettos are characterized by impacted tenements and little or no green-space, there are no tenements in this black community and there is green-space enough to conjure up an atmosphere more rural than urban. The rural quality of this ghetto is further evoked by the fact that there are few sidewalks, few street lights and more than a few unpaved streets. But the reader should not be misled. The absence of the urban tenement and the presence of green-space does not mean that the ghetto provides adequate physical amenities for its residents, for it most certainly does not. Fully 88% of the residences in the area are substandard and 61% of the houses are classified as dilapidated or in need of major reconstruction (1960 figures--the latest available at this writing). On the basis of visual inspection, the houses, which are only infrequently constructed of brick or other masonry, are often bereft of adequately sealed windows. Instead of glass windows one often observes window spaces covered with a kind of plastic weather-proofing, with tarpaulin or cardboard. As far as the green-space is concerned it is more often than not overgrown, almost totally unusable for any recreation but those children's games which require a kind of camouflage. The absence of street lights discourages the use of public space after dark and the unpaved streets become all but impassable after a heavy rain. In spite of comparatively low density (relative to the densities characteristic of big city ghettos) the physical apparatus of the black community is as restrictive upon its residents as the slums of New York and Chicago are upon theirs.

The blacks of the cities we studied are poor--indeed, they are desperately poor. In a community which is reasonably prosperous, fully one-half of the Negro families has an income of less than $4,000 per year. In a community in which the overall unemployment rate hovers around 3% the unemployment rate for Negroes fluctuates between 12-20%. It is not surprising therefore that blacks are over-represented on the public welfare rolls. The director of the public aid department has reported that approximately 69% of the department's caseload is black and that Negroes never make up less than 60% of the cases being carried.

Poverty carries with it disadvantages which are not purely economic. For example, it makes deferment of remuneration difficult for adolescents who have grown up in families thus afflicted. The inability to defer remuneration may in turn be reflected in the educational plans of these youngsters. Fewer than 50% of Negro high school students, as opposed to 90% of the white students, plan to continue their educations after secondary school graduation. Most of those black students who do plan to continue think in terms of vocational training rather than the pursuit of a college education. Without disparaging such a choice it should be noted that, on average, an individual with a college degree can expect a lifetime of greater earning power than a person who has not earned such a degree. Thus, the overwhelming choice among the black students for non-academic pursuits upon high school graduation (those who will not go on and those who opt for post graduation vocational training) represents an ultimate earning power limitation of some significance relative to those high school students, white and black, who will complete a four-year baccalaureate program. Although there are other reasons for dropping out of high school, poverty and the consequent inability to defer remuneration must be counted among the causes of incomplete public school careers. We had difficulty getting accurate figures on the Negro drop-out rate in the community. One very well-placed source indicated that as many as 50% of the black adolescents in the high school freshman class drop out prior to graduation. To the extent that this approximates the truth and to the extent that some of the dropouts can be accounted for in terms of economic hardship, the extensive poverty of blacks in the community operates to mitigate their possibilities of social mobility by means of educational attainment. Poverty it would seem is its own best keeper.

Poverty in the black segment of the community is also a health hazard. Health care is expensive in this city as it is throughout the United States. Those with limited resources are, therefore, in no position to make maximum use of the best health services and facilities in the city. When an individual is without the necessary funds he can go to the Department of Public Aid for medical assistance. However during the course of our fieldwork we found that many people hesitated to do so. True or not, many people in the black community believe that local physicians do not dispense adequate care to those whose medical bills are paid by the Department of Public Aid. Many complained that they or people whom they knew had not been treated with respect when their medical expenses were covered by the Department of Public Aid. An indigent or near-indigent person can go to the city's public health clinic but the services provided there are limited and in case of serious illness the patient is referred to a private physician.

Impoverished and physically inadequate housing contributes heavily to the health difficulties of ghetto residents. Public Health nurses who work in the ghetto remarked upon the housing conditions in that area as dangerous to the health of the residents, particularly to the young children. Ghetto conditions seem to increase the health problems of people who by virtue of their difficult economic situation are unable to avail themselves of adequate health care.[3]

Being poor and black in the city we studied also means being deprived of access to the full range of recreational opportunities in the community. In the not-too-distant past seating in movie houses was segregated, many restaurants refused to serve Negroes, the local YMCA refused membership to blacks, and a local ice skating club sponsored by a commercial service organization refused membership to Negro children even though the club made use of the skating rink located on the *state* university's campus. Today things have changed somewhat. Movie seating is no longer segregated, the YMCA no longer discriminates, and most restaurants in town will serve anyone. Nevertheless, local Negroes almost universally complain of inadequate recreational opportunities and facilities. There are still some restaurants and taverns in the city which do not welcome blacks. As in other communities, there are fraternal orders which bar them from membership. The two country clubs are, of course, out of financial reach but white informants, members of the clubs, report that even financially qualified Negroes would probably not be admitted to membership. Public parks and swimming pools are open to everyone but the only park in the ghetto area is of limited use because of its generally run-down condition and inadequate supervision. A teen center built several years ago in the heart of the ghetto has fallen into major disrepair and is reputed to be the "turf" or hang out of a locally notorious youth gang. As such, many black parents hesitate to allow their children to attend activities located there. Recreational facilities at the university have in the past been open to the general public on a limited basis only. In recent years local blacks, feeling the need for additional recreational outlets, have petitioned the university to extend its hospitality without limitation. The university has grudgingly moved in the direction of opening its facilities to the public but access is still limited. All in all recreational opportunities for poor blacks in the community are not equal to those which are for the white and not so poor in spite of a movement away from the blatant restrictions which obtained until a very short time ago.

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[3] *Note:* Statistics show that the infant mortality rate is 1 1/2 times greater for blacks than it is for whites.

It is often true that the seemingly minor indignities visited upon them can tell a great deal about the disesteem in which a minority group is held by the majority. In the community we studied such indignities clearly indicate the low regard in which the blacks are held. For example, many Negro teenagers and adults report that they have been harassed in local stores by white personnel who suspect that they are potential shop lifters. It is not uncharacteristic for Negro adolescents to suffer public snubs from schoolmates who in the guarded environment of the classroom are reasonably friendly. A candidate for the office of county prosecutor (state's attorney) rejects an invitation to appear before the local chapter of the NAACP because he maintains to do so would be to give legitimacy to the point of view of a special interest group. The president of a local school board addresses the executive director of the local Urban League by his first name at a public meeting. The same Urban League director in his two year tenure in office is never invited to appear before most of the major community service organizations in spite of the fact that they maintain that they are interested in improving race relations in the community. The local chapter of the Junior Chamber of Commerce refuses to endorse a non-discrimination pledge sanctioned by the national organization. A public housing official angered by a petition from black tenants to increase refuse collection from two to three times a week tells the petitioners that their request will be denied and added that if they cannot get rid of their garbage in any other way, they can eat it! It should be clear from these examples that aside from the tangible disadvantages (economic, educational, health, and recreational) of being black in this middle-sized city there are consistant reminders of the fact that in the eyes of many of their white fellow citizens a Negro does not count for very much.

It is in this overall context of institutional insignificance, tangible disadvantage, and symbolic disesteem, that the black child develops his orientation towards prescribed and volitional competence.

It might be noted that the depiction of black man's institutional insignificance and disadvantaged status is not unique to the community we studied. Such conditions and others like them are, after all, what the race conflict in America is all about. While this is true, there is, however, something in the manner in which this racial differential in status and social value is actualized which differs from the manner in which the same differential is actualized in the large northern metropolis.[4] Because the manner in which the differential is actualized in this middle-sized urban area can be accounted for in terms of community characteristics, we might expect that middle-sized cities with the same or similar characteristics might be possessed of the same racial situation. Should this be so, then our analysis may have the effect of establishing a class of variation in American urban race relations. And to the extent that this is true such an analysis should be of considerable importance to those who desire to develop situationally appropriate intervention strategems in education and welfare. Let us therefore devote some discussion to the variation and its community sources.

Institutional insignificance is a product of political weakness. The inability of a segment of a community's population to make itself felt in the polity of that community invariably means that the wishes of those who belong to the group in question will have limited resonance in other institutional areas as well. Those who are politically weak cannot make the community's inattentativeness to their needs in any institutional area *costly* to that community. In the community we studied, the black man's relative powerlessness is a function of a) the formal structure of the local polity and b) the demography of political participation. In discussing the *formal structure of the polity* it must be remembered that we are dealing with *two* municipalities in the same community (see section II, pp. 130-132). In the larger of the two municipalities (the city in which most of the Negroes reside) the formal structure is characterized by a *council-manager* form of government, where the city is administered by a professional manager on appointment of the city council. The city council, inclusive of the mayor who is first among equals, is, in turn, elected at-large in a theoretically non-partisan election. The fact that the councilmen are elected at-large and without party backing is of great significance to the political destiny of the community's black population. A black candidate for the city council with strong backing in the ghetto community may, nevertheless, be defeated because he is unable to run strongly enough in the white areas of the city. During the time when this study was in the field there was no black representation on the council. In a recent election a Negro was elected to the council but only after an up-hill battle waged with the extraordinary support of local blacks, liberal university faculty and students, and some wealthy townsmen who for one reason or another thought it would be good to have a black man on the council. Even with this coalition the black candidate came in third in an election for three seats by a bare margin of slightly over 100 votes. Without this coalition galvanized into action by the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the wide-spread racial violence in American cities, it is highly unlikely that a Negro candidate could have been elected. The at-large election procedure, very popular in middle-sized cities, functions to minimize the possibilities of political success on the part of members of recognizable minorities within the community. Since Negroes constitute the most recognizable of all minorities, the at-large electoral process is a major obstacle to their political success through institutionalized channels.

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[4] *Note:* See, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, *Youth in the Ghetto: A Study in Powerlessness*, 1964.

Joan Gordon, et. al., *The Poor of Harlem: Social Functioning in the Underclass*, A Report to the United States Welfare Administration, 1965.

The obstacle to adequate minority representation is even greater when--as in the community we studied--the election is non-partisan. Non-partisan elections prohibit candidates from running on a party ticket. This prohibition deprives candidates of a ready-made political organization having a fund-raising apparatus and a well-trained cadre of campaign workers. In such elections each candidate has to start from scratch. This circumstance of starting from scratch gives an unfair advantage to the wealthier candidates (or those who represent the interests of wealth) and those candidates who have a certain organizational sophistication. Neither of these characteristics necessarily qualifies a man for office although those possessing one or both of them are likely to be elected. When, as is the case with the city council elections, the non-partisan electoral process occurs on an at-large basis, access to wealth and organizational acuity are extremely important because of the added expense and the necessity to develop a fairly large-scale organization. A black candidate for office, without party resources, having to run in *all* districts of the city, is thus at a considerable disadvantage. Not only does he have to convince the Negro voters that he is qualified but he also has to convince potentially hostile white voters of his qualifications. In such a circumstance he has to have considerable funding and an organization which will probably have to be twice as efficient as those of his white rivals.

In the smaller of the two municipalities in the community (where fewer blacks reside) the form of government is of the mayor-council variety. The mayor is elected at-large while the council is elected as representative of separate aldermanic districts. In both instances the elections are partisan, pitting Democrat against Republican. Because of the aldermanic set-up, Negroes have been able to elect at least one member to the council with some consistency in the last few years.[5] The city government of this municipality, however, has been consistently dominated by the nearly all-white Republican party, a fact which militates against the effectiveness of whatever black (Democrat) representation there is.[6]

In sum, the following may be noted with regard to the degree of black representation on the city councils of both municipalities. In the larger of the two the electoral process works to inhibit Negro representation (as well as representation of working and lower-class whites) while in the smaller municipality the blacks are not penalized by the nature of the electoral process, but they do find their representation limited in its effectiveness by virtue of the fact that the Democratic Negro aldermen are a minority within the minority party.

The second inhibition on the black man in the polity derives from what we have called the *demography of political participation.* In this community of approximately 100,000, political participation is a pastime. Except for the city manager and his staff in the larger of the two municipalities and professional agency heads in the community, no public figure practices politics as a vocation. The livelihood of each public figure--office-holder and party functionary--is not primarily derived from his role in the polity. The mayor of the larger municipality is, for example, the president of a construction company; the mayor of the smaller municipality is the public relations officer for a local bank; and the councilmen in both communities hold such varied positions as veterinarian, owner of a sporting goods store, owner of an insurance agency, real estate broker, housing officer for the university, professor of accounting at the university, etc. Unlike the situation in most large cities where politicians have side interests such as law practices, in the community of which we write it is politics which is the side interest to the vocational commitment of the office holder.

The semi-professional nature of local politics in this community is largely a function of its size. A community of 100,000 can rely upon a semi-professional politics because the complexity and extensiveness of government services is limited. Legislating for a population of this size (and we must remember that the subdivision of the community into two municipalities, one approximately 65,000 and the other approximately 35,000, curtails the service responsibilities of each government) is quite simply something less than a full-time job demanding prolonged and concentrated attention. Whereas a very large city has extensive budgetary commitments in mass transportation, public sanitation, public housing, recreation, etc., which fall within the purview of its city council, in the community we studied these services either do not exist as public services (i.e., mass transportation and sanitation) or else they fall within the purview of specialized governing boards (i.e., public housing and recreation). Consequently, the budgetary responsibility of the council is reduced and the effort of each councilman is curtailed while those who serve on the specialized governing boards have only to devote their energies to a delimited service function. A professional municipal politics only exists where the size of the population served and the extent of centralized public service demands full-time concentration on legislative and other governmental processes. This community of which we write does not have sufficient size and public demand to evoke and support such a politics. The polity is characterized by the active participation of those whose *vocation* is not primarily political.

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[5] *Note:* At the time of this writing there are two Negro members of the city council.

[6] *Note:* As an index of the "whiteness" of the majority party is the fact that Republican candidates in primarily Negro wards are usually white.

The semi-professional nature of political participation works in the following ways against Negroes in the community. First, the absence of professionally-run political parties deprives the blacks of the opportunity to create a well-entrenched position for themselves in the standard organizations. The local Republican party is virtually all white; the Democratic party has Negro membership, but they are hardly a factor in determining its direction. The Democrats are most active in the smaller of the two municipalities and within that city their organization is dominated by a white, upper-middle-class contingent, many of whom are associated with the university. It is interesting to note that a former black councilman, a man largely responsible for developing Democratic loyalties within the ghetto, who announced his intention to run for the Democratic nomination for mayor was challenged by a woman who had the backing of the university liberals. She defeated the black candidate but was decisively beaten by the Republican candidate in the general election. The absence of political "pros" creates a situation in which it is very difficult to "make a deal," i.e., to trade party loyalty for party significance. Whatever else may be said of the professional politician, he is most sensitive to developing and maintaining an organization. Any perceived threat to the integrity of the political organization is in his eyes cause for negotiation, for compromise which maintains the organization by giving to the potential dissidents a larger "piece of the action." It is in this way, for example, that black political interests have become articulated with party interests (albeit at a level less significant than it ought to be) in large cities like New York, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and even Chicago. When the pros are absent organizational regularity and integrity tends to be downgraded, the special interests or "ideologies" of the amateur participants upgraded, and the possibility of stable minority significance is reduced by virtue of the quixotic personality of the resulting party organization.

There is yet another implication of the semi-professional character of political participation which mitigates against the exercise of minority power. Since each of the councilmen and the mayors of the two municipalities have interests which are more germane to their personal well-being than are their political roles, since they are, for example, local businessmen before they are councilmen, there is a tendency for these extra-political interests to weigh disproportionately in the deliberative process of local legislation. The councilmen quite often represent interests with which they have a personal connection rather than a given constituency of men and women. The "common good" or the "public interest" is often defined from the narrow perspective of the councilman's extra-political identity. When, for example, an open housing ordinance was brought before one of the two city councils, it was sent to a committee whose chairman, a local realtor, was intensely hostile to any such legislation. When a zoning ordinance regulating the use of large, garish, neon and electric signs was being considered, it was weakened considerably in a committee dominated by councilmen who as businessmen saw such signs as good for business and, therefore, good for the community. When election time draws near in the larger of the two municipalities, the Chamber of Commerce meets to determine which of their number shall stand for election. *No attribution of conflict of interest is being made here.* We simply note the high probability of mistaking one's narrow perspective for the public interest when those who theoretically act in the public interest do not do so as a vocation. In large cities legislators do, of course, represent interests; but the probability of their doing so consistently is lowered because as professional politicians they are ultimately more subject to the vicissitudes of the political game itself than to anything else (except when the pro has been bought). The competing interests are fed into the political maelstrom; compromises are sought and deals are made; the forthcoming political product in the long run approximates a balance of competing interests. The big-city professional is a power-broker between interests; the middle-sized city's semi-professional is an *interest-representative.* Minority interests in the community we studied suffer because there are no power-brokers operating in the political game, no professional politicians for whom those interests may become important in the political game to which they are irrevocably committed.

In sum, both the formal structure of the local polity with its heavy emphasis upon at-large non-partisan electoral processes and the demography of political participation which results in a non-professional urban politics operate against the black man's effective political presence in our community, at least in so far as institutionalized or representative political processes are concerned. In large cities black minorities have been able to secure a permanent place in the political game; in the community we studied they have not been able to do so.

Disadvantage, as far as the Negroes in the community are concerned, flows from their political weakness. This community was one of the last in the state to write open housing ordinances. In one of the two municipalities the first ordinance passed actually legalized discrimination in housing by stating that such discrimination was permissable as long as the seller stated his restrictive wishes *in writing* to his real estate agent. It was not until federal law clearly superseded local housing ordinances that this municipality committed itself to a reasonable ordinance. If the blacks had been at all part of the local politics, the housing ordinance might not have been so long delayed; but even overdue, it is highly unlikely that an ordinance would have been passed which insulted every black man in the community by making discrimination acceptable on the whim of a white property owner if the blacks had been at all part of the local politics.

For several years a number of black groups have complained about insufficient Negro representation in the police and fire departments of the two municipalities. There are no Negroes in the community's fire departments, a handful of Negro patrolmen (no officers) in the police department of the larger municipality and one Negro patrolman (the first in its history) on the police force of the smaller municipality. The complaints have been answered by authorities who maintain that the blacks have simply not been able to meet the test requirements for employment. Recently a group of university people tried with little success to have the municipalities revise the requirements for employment, claiming that the tests in use are not task-related to the positions in question and are inherently discriminatory. Whether or not this is so we cannot determine, but in a large city where the blacks have a permanent place in the polity, they would not be subjected to the extensive exclusion which we find in the police and fire departments of this community.

The unpaved streets and unlighted streets in the ghetto have received scant attention from the city fathers as have all the physical ills of the area. It is, of course, true that big city ghettos are also in a state of neglect; but in those cities where the blacks have some real politicality, officials make attempts, sometimes more symbolic than real, to rectify such conditions. In such situations a political penalty can be exacted if they fail to do so. In the community we studied there are no political penalties for ignoring the blacks (or indeed for ignoring the poor whites: see David Harvey's study in this volume).

While it is true that much of the disadvantage and institutional insignificance of Negroes in this community of 100,000 derives from their political inconsequence which, in turn, is a function of the peculiar character of the local polity, there are other qualities of the community which ~~in themselves~~ contribute to the actualization of disadvantage. Among the most important of these is the *scale function in image-making and public opinion formation.* One of the most striking differences between the community we studied and large urban or metropolitan areas almost immediately observable to any visitor from the larger area is the definition of what is *news* or what information should become public. The sheer size of the metropolitan area and the limitation on size in the middle-sized city are themselves factors which have an editorial function in determining what becomes part of the public consciousness. In the large city or metropolitan area the large number of events occurring on any given day precludes the publication in the mass media of any stories except those dealing with the most striking of these events. Thus, the large number of crimes committed precludes the publication of a story on each one, and a fight between a single black student and a single white student would not be considered newsworthy. There is just so much space in the newspaper or so much time on the air. The problem of the media in the middle-sized city is quite the opposite, however. With approximately the same amount of space in the newspapers and the same newstime on the air, there are significantly fewer events to be reported. Even if one adds the daily events occurring in surrounding communities they still do not add up to a surplus of newsworthy occurrences. There is a simple direct correlation between size of population and the generation of events; the city of 100,000 does not generate events on a scale of significance comparable to that of a large metropolitan area. As a result the media must search for news and in the process they extend the criteria of newsworthiness. The local newspapers run obituaries as news stories rather than segregating them on a special obit page. Any automobile accident involving bodily harm is reported on television as well as in the newspapers. Almost every crime is reported. And given the problematic nature of race relations in American society, almost any incident with racial overtones, no matter how minor, is reported. The last two of these public information categories are particularly damaging to the black man's image in the community and as a consequence contribute significantly to the maintenance of his disadvantaged social estate.

Whether or not the crime rate for blacks is actually higher than it is for whites in the community, it *appears* to be higher from the nature of newspaper accounts.[7] The newspapers give the impression of extensive gambling and law violation in the black community. There are numerous accounts of gambling violations and bootlegging operations in the ghetto. There is extensive coverage of fights and brawls occurring on the notorious "tenderloin" of the ghetto, a street whose name conjures up images of vice and dangerous lawlessness. The newspapers do not generally identify an arrested person as being Negro, although they do so when reporting a crime story in which the suspect has not yet been

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[7] *Note:* In the monographic report of this study now in preparation an extended analysis of racial variations in criminal prosecutions will be presented.

apprehended. However, they do publish the addresses of suspects in custody. Here again the scale of the community we have studied is of some significance. Publishing the address of a suspect in a large city does not necessarily identify that person as being either black or white. Except for those people who have some special knowledge of the racial composition of the neighborhood in question the publication of an address does little to identify the race of the person under arrest. However, in a community the size of this one street names, numbers, and north, south, east, west designations do establish for a large number of readers the racial identity of the suspect. From the number of ghetto addresses appearing in crime reports, it would seem that blacks are extensively involved in the criminal life of the community. As noted earlier, whether or not they are so involved is not the question here but rather the character of media-reporting which depicts their extensive involvement. Taken together, the reporting of incidents whose locale is clearly within the ghetto and the reporting of general crime which ostensibly involves Negroes is certainly damaging to the image of the black segment of the community. And while it might be argued that the press and other media in large cities do not enhance the black man's image in the general community, it is nevertheless true that by reporting events which would not appear in the media of larger cities, the local press in this community aid substantially the creation and maintenance of an image which is pejorative to the blacks.

More immediately damaging is the extensive reporting of interracial incidents. The prospect of interracial conflict strikes fear into even the most liberal of whites and in a community where the latter are a distinct minority, reports of such conflicts, even minor ones, mitigate the probability that whites will deal fairly with Negroes. It is often the fear of such conflict which motivates rejection of the blacks' justifiable desire for housing on a non-discriminatory basis and for effective school desegregation. Items on apparent racial conflict, which in larger cities would be ignored by the mass media, are brought into public consciousness. These occurrences become endowed with a potency considerably out of proportion to their actual significance. The following may be cited in illustration of this circumstance. During a period when bussing plans for the elementary schools of one of the two school districts were being formulated and debated, a story appeared in the local media which reported a racial incident at one of the integrated local high schools. The racial incident in question was a shoving match between some black and white students. When the shoving got out of hand, some punches were delivered and some epithets exchanged, whereupon the school authorities called in the juvenile officer of the police department. The fracas never involved more than a handful of students, black and white. In spite of this fact, the incident received major coverage by the local media at a time when racial sensitivities were already running higher than usual in the community. The same incident in New York City or Chicago would not have been considered sufficiently important to be reported by the mass media. In the large city context it would not have become a factor with the potential for affecting the general tenor of racial feeling throughout the community; it would not have been an incident with the potential for hardening resistance to black petitions for the redress of an inequitable situation in the public schools.[8]

There is still another characteristic of this community of 100,000 which ought to be noted because of the function it has in the actualization of the Negro's disadvantage. As compared to the large metropolitan areas which have a distinctive urban personality deriving from the exigencies and complexities of their social organization, demography, and exchange relationships with other communities, urban *and* rural, the urban community we studied is more nearly integrated with its rural surroundings. That is, the urbanism of this community of 100,000 is more nearly like the *ruralism* of the areas surrounding it than it is like the *urbanism* of the large metropolitan areas we have come to identify as THE CITY.[9] There are several indicators which may be cited in support of this contention. Whereas the metropolitan cities of New York, Chicago, Boston, etc., have characteristically given their votes to Democratic politicians, conservative Republicans predominate in the community we studied in much the same manner as they do in the surrounding small towns and rural areas. Whereas the dweller in the metropolitan city experiences his world in isolation of rural culture, the dweller in our city is constantly reminded of the contiguousness of rural America to his community. The *4-H Club* has a program in the community, as does the *Future Farmers of America*. Newspapers, radio, and television carry extensive advertising aimed at those who follow agricultural pursuits. Many of the agencies which primarily function within the city limits (i.e., public aid, the health department, and the housing authority) are in fact county agencies whose boards consist of township supervisors who are often from the more rural sections of the county. From the points of view of many of those who are professionally connected with some of these agencies, the governing boards are ultra-conservative and out of touch with urban problems. Whereas in large metropolitan areas first-generation city dwellers tend to be concentrated among the disadvantaged in the community, in our middle-sized city first-generation city dwellers are distributed throughout the socio-economic structure of the community. There are, for example, people of considerable wealth and/or professional attainment in the community who have grown up on farms or in the surrounding rural towns. (Eighty-six per cent of the Dramatis Personae and Influentials for whom we had such information come from this type of background.)

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[8] *Note:* As scale plays an important role in determining the character and connotation of public information in this community, so too does it affect the styles of organizational functioning in areas which have implications for local race realtions and the estate of blacks in the community. A full treatment of this facet of the situation demands a more extensive analysis than can be provided in the context of this report. Such an analysis will appear in the monographic account of this research now in preparation.

[9] *Note:* The classic, but much criticized, formulation on modern urbanism may be found in Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 44 (July, 1938).
For a treatment of rural-urban differences as expressed in public opinion, see: Howard W. Beers, "Rural-Urban Differences: Some Evidence from Public Opinion Polls," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 18, (March, 1953) pp. 1-11.

As a result of these and other factors the community is pervaded by a strain of what might be called the "conventional wisdom" of rural America. In a manner appearing anomalous to the observer whose urban experience has been metropolitan, the dominant cultural milieu of the community seems to emphasize such things as simple, unquestioning patriotism; individual respectability; the importance of organized religion (one local television station has a regularly scheduled slot in which clergymen are invited to comment on news events); common decency (Claude Brown's important book *Manchild in the Promised Land* was withdrawn from a high school English course when a number of people objected to its use of street language and its exploration of such problems as narcotics use); and the absolute necessity of hard work and individual effort, an emphasis which underscores the general American moralistic posture toward those who are poverty stricken (i.e., they are morally disreputable).

Some of these emphases, reminiscent of the milieu which Sinclair Lewis so deftly described in *Babbitt* and other novels, are decidedly disadvantageous to the poor, in particular the black poor. Their presence creates a context with a high potential for the mutual estrangement of middle class from lower class, of white from black.

To those who subscribe to the kind of simple patriotism which uncritically glorifies not only the ideals but the actual conditions of the American system, any demand for redress emanating from those who have been excluded from fruitful participation in that system must seem to be illegitimate. Otherwise kind and sympathetic individuals embracing such a view of American society are unable to sympathize with those who are protesting their social disenfranchisement. Since blacks are the most apparent protesters, they become the objects of scorn and increasing rejection. In the hostile behaviors of those whites who embrace simplistic patriotism, blacks see confirmation of their own view that whites are ultimately unsympathetic to their cause. As a result they are hardened in their own hostility toward collaboration with even sympathetic whites. This is particularly true where uncritical white endorsement of the system is a community piety. In the community we studied there has been a trend toward increased polarization between black and white, so much so that the kind of inter-racial collaboration which was possible at the outset of our study three years ago has become increasingly difficult to sustain.

To those who value highly "respectability" and "decency", many of those who lead the black protest--particularly in the community we studied--seem an anathema. In a community where some of the strongest protest has come from young men with police records, former hustlers and youth gang leaders, conventional conceptions of respectability are offended and the legitimacy of the grievances they protest must be, consequently, down-graded. And because the protest is often couched in the meanest of terms--because its rhetoric is often violent--conventions of "common decency" are indeed violated. Again in the eyes of the conventional beholder the rhetoric discredits the cause. Taken together, the rejection suffered on grounds of indecency and disrespectability confirms the hostility of the black rhetoric and further alienates those who use it from fruitful collaboration with *all* whites.

Finally, those who endorse individualistic self-help-pull-yourself-up-by-the-bootstraps cures as opposed to structural cures for poverty see the black protest (even in such a mild form as we find in this community) for special economic dispensations in light of their historic victimization as essentially unfair. During the past three years this author has been confronted with one situation after another in which he was told that "those people" want something for nothing. "If they would only work harder they would be alright in this community." "But you see," they continue, "those people don't want to work--why I had one working around the store fixing things and cleaning up and he didn't stay on the job but two weeks. They're just lazy--want to be on welfare and then they tell us we have to change the way *we've* been doing things!"[10] Blind to the historical basis for the protest, these good people, imbued with the individualism of a simpler time, can find little or no legitimacy in black demands for collective change. Their ignorant individualism stiffens their backs, once again confirming the petitioning Negroes in their belief that there is little potential for progress in a moderate posture.

The *ruralism* of this city of 100,000 thus magnifies the potential for racial estrangement. If this has not as yet been fully realized it is nevertheless the judgment of this investigator that unless new social intelligence enters into the situation in the very near future the trend toward near irrevocable alienation will be realized, perhaps in such a manner as to surpass the estrangement we witness today in our larger cities. It is true that one finds the same kind of resistance to the black protest in large urban areas, but its normative basis is different and possibly in the longrun, more malleable. In metropolitan centers like New York and Chicago the core resistance to the black protest comes from lower-middle class and working class groups, particularly those who have sustained their ethnic identities. Their resistance is in large measure based upon their own socio-economic insecurity, their own inability to see daylight in their seemingly inexorable struggle to keep even on their mortgage payments, to keep up with their time payments, to pay their taxes, to make sure their jobs won't be lost to automation, and to believe in their own value in the American scheme of things. As a number of social observers have noted, these are people ill-at-ease with their life situation but not yet effectively organized to do anything constructive about it.[11] They militantly resist the black protest, displacing (and indeed misplacing) their hostility upon a too easily recognized foe. They see the black movement as a threat to their tenuous security and self-valuation. However, it is possible that patient organizational work among these counter-demonstrators and Wallace supporters can transform their hostility toward Negroes into an aggressive impulse to reform the social and economic system.[12] If this is likely, then their present hostility toward blacks may be more transitory than most of us have assumed.

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[10] *Note:* This is a synoptic quote based upon conversations and interviews taken with local whites during the period of our fieldwork.

On the other hand, the hostility toward the black protest which we have found in the community we have studied is based in large measure, if not completely upon institutionalized ruralism, upon values easily venerated because of their simplicity and home-spun truth. The resistance of those who hold these values to the black protest is not a function of incipient personal and social disorganization but, quite the opposite, it is a function of the desire of people to keep inviolate a way of life which seems to be identical to the reality and promise of America itself. It seems, therefore, that the potential for prolonged white intransigence and consequently *extreme* interracial estrangement is higher in our city of 100,000 than it is in the large metropolitan areas which now hold our attention.

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[11] *Note:* Saul Alinsky, a well-known community organizer and social activist, has argued that this is the case during a panel discussion held at the annual meeting of the *Society For the Study of Social Problems* in August, 1968.

Another community organizer, the sociologist Bob Cook, has made a similar observation. See: Bob Cook, "Insurgent Politics in New Haven," in *Leviathan*, Vol. 1, #1 (March, 1969) pp. 8-10.

[12] See Cook, *op. cit.*

By focusing upon the conditions which actualize the Negro's disadvantage and institutional insignificance in our community of 100,000, we have in these pages attempted to indicate how variable factors such as the nature of political organization, the character of political participation, scalar variations in media contributions to public consciousness of racial matters, and variations in urban value complexes must be taken into account when one is trying to develop a concrete picture of urban race relations. We suggest that, since the actualization of disadvantage differs according to the presence or absence of certain conditions which may be classified under the above-mentioned rubrics, those planning educational or welfare interventions intended to improve upon the present state of our racial "face-off" must be sensitive to the fact that, irrespective of the technical content of their proposed programs, it will probably be necessary to adopt alternate strategies of intervention according to the manner in which disadvantage is actualized in given urban communities. At the conclusion of our report we shall present a strategic recommendation for intervention based upon the analysis just presented as well as the following discussion of competence development and the logic-of-influence model. While it may be true that there are idiosyncratic factors operating in the community we have studied, we contend that it is to a large extent representative of a class of urban communities of similar scale throughout the northern half of the United States. (The basis for this contention has been developed in some detail in Section II of this report.) If this should be the case, then our recommendation should be applicable to the large number of communities falling within this class.

We turn now to an analysis of competence development and the *logic-of-influence* model in the context of our middle-sized urban community of 100,000.

Part II: Competence Development and the Logic-of-Influence

In order to present a meaningful discussion of the conditions of competence development as they exist for the Negroes in the community we studied, we will depart from the order in which we conducted our inquiry (neighborhood, family, and societal competence agents) and proceed from the most formal and least intimate to the least formal and most intimate influences, i.e., from societal agents to neighborhood to family.

Condition 1: The Societal Competence Agents

Earlier in this section we commented upon the impact that isolation from the white social system (a condition we found extant in the community studied) might have for blacks in terms of the levels of influence effecting competence development. We noted the probability that this isolation would further intensify the neighborhood and family impacts while at the same time reducing the impact of the already less intense influences of the societal competence agents. It would seem to follow from this that if the societal competence agents are to have any chance of overcoming the situational impediment (imposed by such isolation) to effective influence on their part, they must a) recognize that an impediment does, indeed, exist; b) recognize its source; and c) be willing to change and be capable of it in their professional postures in the direction of relegating their white community sponsorship to a less conspicuous place as they confront their "clients" in the black ghettos. Failure to recognize that an impediment exists would, of course, mean that the societal competence agents would most likely continue to play their roles in a manner which because of its obliviousness to the situation must maximize the ineffectiveness of their influence. Failure to recognize the source of their impediment can only lead them to adopt techniques which are ineffective because they leave the basic problem untouched. If recognizing the problem and its source in the hiatus between essentially white agencies and the black community they are not motivated to moderate their efforts, they will, of course continue to remain ineffective. If they wish to change their approach but for some constraint, organizational or otherwise, they are incapable of doing so, they must either remain ineffective within the positions they hold or resign leaving the field to those who will be more responsive to the constraints.

In the following presentation we will focus upon the extent to which the major competence agents, vis-a-vis the black population, are sensitive to the impediment confronting their efforts and the extent to which they are willing and able to modify their professional behaviors in order to overcome this impediment.

In our investigation of the schools and those agencies which are most frequently involved in the ghetto we came across a mix of characteristics which taken together indicates how ineffective competence agents operating in terms of these organizations are likely to be and *why*. Essentially there are *two* styles or approaches, the *professional* and the *local*, which characterize agency efforts vis-a-vis the ghetto. *Both* are inappropriate in maximizing the impact of the competence agent in the black community. The *professional style* finds its purest expression in the local school system[13] but it is also characteristic of the efforts of the Department of Public Aid and the Public Health Agency. The *local style* is most characteristic of the Public Housing Authority and the Township Supervisors' General Assistance but may also be seen in the efforts of such agencies as the Salvation Army, the Probation Office of the courts and the Juvenile Office of the local police. Both styles, albeit for very different reasons, nurture the maintenance of excessive *social distance* between the competence agents and those black people with whom they work; as a consequence, they function to minimize the potential for positive effect.

The *professional style* nurtures excessive social distance by virtue of the fact that the parameters of professionalism demand that such an estate exist between practitioner and client. The professional is one with *special* training which, theoretically, enables him to contend with the problems of his client in a manner which his client, without such training, could not himself sustain. Built into the professional-client relationship is a *status-differential* based upon the assumed superior competence of the professional to deal with the matter at hand. The physician does not receive medical advice from his patients, nor does the lawyer receive legal advice from his clients. From the perspective of the professional, the *status-differential* is even more pronounced when the "client's" problems are those which seem to make them unacceptable in society. In such instances the professional problem solver, a solid citizen possessed of skill and higher than usual educational attainment, confronts a client who is socially stigmatized, a client who by virtue of his being a client tends to be defined as the professional's *social* inferior (the specific status-differential thereby becomes a mark of social distance; the specific inferiority, i.e., medical or legal, becomes a generalized inferiority, i.e., social. From the perspective of the client the professional often loses his credibility because he is too far removed from the circumstances of his client's daily life; he recognizes the professional's presumed superiority, is offended by it, and rejects the professional's efforts in his behalf.

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[13] *Note:* In this discussion "local school system" refers to the schools of the larger of the two municipalities. It is the system which enrolls most of the black children in the community.

The *professional style* does not preclude the competence agents who operate in terms of it from realizing that their effectiveness with the blacks is somehow being impeded; it does tend to prevent an understanding of the source of the impediment. Because modifications for overcoming the impediment would appear to challenge the *status-differential* inherent in professionalism, the agents are often wary of undertaking them. The net result, in so far as the community we studied is concerned, is a condition in which the impediment to effective impact (deriving from the isolation of the blacks in the white community) is unintentionally reinforced by the professional style of many of those who would have it otherwise. Let us illustrate this point by referring to the following materials from our research:

> 1) A ranking official of the local school system remarked that a local black militant had been very helpful in bringing parents with problem children into school consultations. However, he noted that it was difficult to work with this person because he (the militant) wanted to be included in consultations as a "friend of the court."

Comment: The local militant in question is a man who did not finish high school. He has no professional accreditation and is therefore ruled out of participating in a situation where he might be of some real help. (The superintendent did note that these parents would not have come in for the consultations except through the efforts of the individual in question.) Maintenance of the professional-client status-differential seems to be as important in this example as the ostensible goal of helping the parents help their children.

> 2) The local school system ceased its sponsorship of the community's Head Start Program. The reasons for doing so derived from the fact that the local poverty group--primarily black--was demanding a restructuring of the program to give parents a more effective role in planning and executing the program. The school district maintained that it could not participate in a program in which *uncertified* people would have a policy role.

Comment: Again it is clear that maintenance of professional prerogatives was the issue which caused the schools to withdraw from an experiment calculated to bridge the gap between the blacks (and poor whites) and the schools. Whether or not the proposed changes would have been effective is not the issue, but rather that the schools chose to protect their professionalism over the opportunity to experiment.

> 3) The principals of two secondary schools made clear their resistance to any kind of parental collaboration beyond that which is necessary to maintain good public relations. In both cases these administrators expressed their determination to exercise professional control over their schools. One principal went so far as to say that developing alliances with parent and community groups can only lead to the weakening of education because such alliances would result in a curriculum which would represent the "lowest common denominator" unifying the interests of non-professional groups in education.

Comment: These administrators were reflecting their general philosophy, one not pointed specifically toward Negro parents. Nevertheless, their reluctance to deal with parent and community groups can only alienate members of the black community who feel the need to have their views respected by those who administer the schools their children attend.

> 4) Although teachers and administrators were concerned about the problems of black children within the schools, they showed less concern for the children than they did for the new arrangements dealing with race in the schools and the effects these would have on them personally. A principal who had been very much involved in a special program for gifted children saw the bussing plan as a threat to its continuation, for the taxpayers would revolt, he felt, and some programs would suffer. Teachers in the secondary schools almost unanimously reported that the racial situation had caused them to become timid about disciplining black children primarily because administrators were themselves acting with timidity in such situations. By and large, even with the best intentions, most teachers interviewed were unprepared to contend with the slowly developing race consciousness in the schools. At best, they mouthed empty pieties about treating all children as individuals yet, in a somewhat contradictory manner, they spoke of their need to learn about the background of Negro children by making home visits. The teachers viewed themselves as underdogs whose problems were made all the more difficult by children whom they do not understand. Few in the system really knew about the isolation of

the ghetto in the community and, consequently, few understood the nature of their own relationships with ghetto children. They are professionals who have been prepared to teach the white American middle. They seem somewhat uncomfortable with this kind of professionalism--yet they still do not recognize their blinders for what they are.[14]

5) However else they felt about their relationships with clients, the visiting nurses in the public health agency seemed committed to maintaining their own professionalism. Most believed that although they needed to teach better health practices and standards to their black clients, they would be most effective if they maintained a professional formality in styling such efforts.

Comment: In general the nurses in this agency are young and committed. However, they have little sense of the ghetto's isolation in the community. They want to help but they believe that professional extension of the status-differential would be helpful in their ghetto contacts. One of the more insightful and articulate nurses reasoned that in medical matters people are more likely to accept advice from those whose demeanor makes them seem distant, and therefore elevated, than they are from people whose demeanor makes them seem ordinary. (It is as though one were to argue that the effectiveness of the medical practitioner depends upon his inaccessibility and mysteriousness.) All other things being equal, there may indeed be some truth in this position. However, in the case of the blacks in the community we studied, all other things are *not* equal. *All* the public health nurses are *white*, a fact which immediately identifies them as outsiders, as people who (from the ghetto perspective) may not have the best interests of the ghetto residents at heart. The nurses are not independent health professionals but come into the ghetto under the very visible sponsorship of the outside--or white community. (They wear uniforms.) Finally, they do not generally deal with serious illness but rather with the ordinary but important health tasks of everyday life (tasks which are very much a part of a woman's expected competence in mothering and homemaking roles). Given the mundane character of the tasks, professional inaccessibility would hardly seem to lend the imprimatur of mystery to them. Such haughtiness might very well be counter-productive if only because the client finds it inappropriate when dealing with such matters as the best way to bathe a baby and the provision of balanced meals for the family. The maintenance of professional reserve reinforces the black/white nature of the relationship and keeps alive the possibilities of racial hostility; it constantly reminds the "client" that the nurse works for the white system which, in some degree at least, she distrusts. In sum, this reserve tends to reinforce the structured impediment--the ghetto's isolation, institutional insignificance and disadvantage--to the agent's effectiveness.

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[14] *Note:* The characterization of the schools and race relations in this community demands a fuller analysis than we have space for in this report. Such an analysis will appear in the forthcoming monographic report of this research.

> 6) The director of the public health agency, a man robust in his criticism of the private medical establishment and the overall lack of support for public health in the community, feels the need for greater involvement of his agency in the ghetto area. He believes, however, that public health personnel should be nonjudgmental, that they should remain aloof and focus their efforts on specific health tasks.

Comment: In a community where health problems may be related to such things as poor housing and inadequate public sanitation (as reported by public health nurses), nonjudgmental aloofness may in fact be an alienating factor in the realtionship between public health personnel and their black clients. In some housing cleanliness is really not possible because of the character of the housing itself, as in the case of an apartment infested with vermin and vulnerable to windblown dust and dirt. Such specific teaching as behooves a health nurse to attempt to "educate" a parent to the necessity of cleanliness in such a situation cannot be successful while, indeed, it may create general hostility because it reinforces the perception of the nurse as an agent for the white community. It would seem callous would it not for a nurse to avoid the taking of sides in a situation such as this? Successful health teaching in the ghetto may, in fact, depend upon the extent to which the health personnel, recognizing the extra-personal health impediments, are willing to take sides with those they are working with--their clients. If they fail to do so, they are likely to create and sustain excessive social distance between themselves and those they wish to help, a distance which can ultimately destroy their credibility in the ghetto.

The *local style* of many of the societal competence agents in the community we studied is perhaps even more of an impediment to effective influence in the ghetto community, so much so that one is forced to wonder whether those who embrace this style do wish to be of influence among those with whom they work. In effect, the *local style* embodies in the welfare effort the rural-based conventional wisdom (with its anti-poor, anti-black proclivities) of the white majority in the community. The *local style* is particularly interesting because it is self-confirming. By its very nature it generates a *self-fullfilling prophecy* whereby the approach of the competence agent precludes success on his part; his own failure is then taken as evidence of the correctness of his view of those he is supposed to serve.

The typical practitioner in the local style is an individual who has little or no formal training for the position he (or she) holds. He typically comes to his position by political appointment or, as in the case of the township supervisors (general assistance), is elected to the position. The practitioner is thus an individual who, on the fact of it, might be expected to mirror local norms with regard to race and poverty.

The following examples from our field materials are offered in illustration of the *local style* in operation:

1) The public housing authority is administered by two people without any formal training in the field. The tenant-relations officer, the person having the most direct contact with the tenants, came to her position from a job in the credit department of a local department store. The attitudes expressed by these competence agents, if such they may be called, clearly reflects the local conventional wisdom. A few quotations should suffice to illustrate this for the reader. The *tenant-relations officer* on eligibility for public housing:

> . . . and, of course, the women with illegitimate children. . .if its just a continuous thing, year after year, we don't feel we should take them because they're just too much trouble to us. We dowaive. . . that if someone who has had an illegitimate child and has not had any more for say a full year, then she is behaving herself and will not be trouble to us, then we consider her if everything else checks out. . .in way of her behavior.

The *tenant-relations officer* on reasons for eviction:

> Their housekeeping is another thing. So many of them. . .will not fight the roaches. . . Another thing, moral character sometimes does this. It's when women have one man right after another. . . .

The *tenant-relations officer* on the incentive problem among her clients:

> It's low rent and people will stay and stay because of these low rents. They will not care whether they make any more than enough to feed the family and to keep their rent paid...So it has...it's disadvantages.

Although the basic guidelines for public housing are determined by the Federal Government, these guidelines would seem to have limited influence in the day-to-day operation of the housing projects. The *public housing director* on these rules: "You can't go by the book. You have to evaluate the situation as you see it." The moralism of the staff has resulted in a kind of one-sided "involvement" in the tenants' lives. The *director:* "I think to do the job properly you *have* to get involved in their problems." He feels that he has to find out "what's going on in the project." And he believes that he can find out more from the youngsters than he can "get out of the reports or out of the parents." In the same vein, the *tenant-relations officer* indicates that the staff encourages tenants to inform on one another, "We ask them to. . . we ask their co-operation in letting us know when someone is violating their lease."

Comment: Although the public housing authority is not primarily a socializing agency, in the context of the community we studied it is perceived as such. The goal of public housing in the eyes of its staff is "to get people on their feet" so that they will not have to live in the projects. Whether or not this ought to be a function of public housing is debatable--some would argue (myself among them) that public housing ought simply to be housing with no socialization or welfare functions. Nevertheless, in the community we studied, the staff of the agency sees itself in the welfare role. The moralistic posture adopted by the staff, the apparent disdain they hold for the tenants and their rights to privacy, will never convince any of the people with whom they work that they sincerely wish to be helpful. The posture adopted by the staff, a posture very much in line with the conventional wisdom which makes poverty morally disreputable, can only alienate tenants from the Authority and in the case of the blacks (who live in segregated projects) can only exacerbate whatever racial hostilities already exist among them. In the guise of welfare personnel, the staff of the Authority really functions to *police* the projects.

2) The township supervisors and their staff(an intake worker) dispense general financial assistance to people in the community. The individuals occupying these positions have had no formal training for their work and see no need for such training. One supervisor formerly worked in a lumberyard and a bowling alley and is presently a partner in a real estate business. Another supervisor was a furniture salesman before he was elected to office. The *intake worker* came on the job during the depression immediately after his high school graduation. There is no mistaking the local "conventional wisdom" in their approach to their work. A few quotations should make this abundantly clear: *Supervisor #1,* "We're a little bit hard on single people. Work is a good cure for their problems. When it comes to families, we lean over backwards to overlook laziness. . ." *Supervisor #1* does not trust in the ability of his "clients" to manage funds, "We don't give out money, only food orders, rent orders, ultility orders, medical help, etc." *Supervisor #1* commented that 90% of his recipients are Negroes and that "It takes twice as long to take an application from these people; they don't know very much." *Supervisor #1* on his job, "We're doing a good job, a real good job. I don't think giving more money would help. They'd just spend more." Finally *Supervisor #1* complained about local Negroes wanting too much, "What they want is everything for colored only." *Supervisor #2* is milder on the "Negro Problem," ". . . I've always gotten along with the other side. . . These people are my friends. They've always been my friends and. . .I have worked with them and done lots of things for them when I worked in the lumber yard. . . and even now I have tried to put them in jobs if they would go, if they would go and apply for the jobs."

The *intake worker* comments upon the need for welfare:

> Welfare has become a way of life with many of our people. It's a way of life and it's just as simple as that. . . it's the type of person that depends on that sort of thing [and] being out and having a responsibility, I don't think they could accept it......And the more welfare that is given--the guaranteed income which they're talking about now--I can't see where its going to solve any problems. . . [the] situation's still going to be there.

And finally the *intake worker* comments on the character of local Negroes:

> Now I've known a *lot* of good Negro people. . . I've known a *lot* of these kind and then I've had the other kind that are just the opposite and just like children.....Well, I try to treat everyone as a human being when they come in, I mean after all they *are* human beings, but with some of them you get terribly frustrated. . . You know they're not telling you the truth, they stand right there and tell you one story after another. You know they are but what can you do about it? To them they're not doing anything wrong. . . .

Comment: In light of the material just presented, it is difficult to see the general assistance supervisors having influence among the black people they serve. At best they tolerate poverty, reflecting in their attitudes a condescension toward the poor whom they believe are poor because of laziness or other personal inadequacies. At worst, they perceive the blacks as being a particularly unworthy sub-group among the generally unworthy irresponsible poor. One receives the distinct impression that the general assistance supervisors are not likely to extend common competence expectations to the Negroes with whom they work simply because they believe that these people are incapable of living up to them. The realization of the rural conventional wisdom in the locally-styled efforts of the supervisors is incapcitating as far as effectiveness with blacks is concerned. It is an incapacity little recognized by those incapacitated and, consequently, there is little probability of its being corrected.

On the basis of our research we are led to conclude that far from compensating for the impediment to effectiveness caused by the hiatus between the white social system and the black community, the characteristic styles of the competence agents, both *professional* and *local,* are more likely to reinforce the sense of isolation and disadvantage which many black people have. The professionally oriented competence agents accomplish this, perhaps unintentionally, by creating and sustaining excessive social distance between themselves and the blacks, while the locally oriented competence agents, operating as they do in terms of conventional wisdom of the white community, do not seem to be capable of understanding the situation of their black clients and the needs which derive therefrom.

Our findings suggest important implications for the process of educational and welfare intervention intended to make more effective the role of formal competence agents in the development of standard competence among ghetto populations. To begin with, our findings seem to indicate that a re-examination of the professional style is in order. If it is indeed counterproductive in ghetto situations, then, for example, among other things the training and education of welfare and educational professionals will have to be revised. More importantly, on the basis of our findings it would appear that in communities where the *local style* is a significant component of the *educational-welfare establishment* it may not be possible to develop large-scale collaborative efforts involving all the agencies which have relevance in the ghetto. Those agencies which are characterized by *local style* will probably have to be by-passed in any such effort. Their orientation toward ghetto problems, vis-a-vis competence development or otherwise, would seem to preclude their effective collaboration. This, of course, raises a number of issues with regard to the politics of intervention. Can any effective effort to maximize competence development in the ghetto be mounted with the collaboration of the educational-welfare establishment in communities where that establishment is dominated by the local style? And if the established educational-welfare apparatus cannot be effectively utilized, what alternatives are possible? If alternatives are planned, what kinds of resistance are innovators likely to confront? It appears likely that in a community where the local style predominates in education and welfare there would be great resistance on the part of community powers to any effort which seems to threaten their well-entrenched methods of "getting things done."

The aforementioned implications underscore the need for a systematic comparison of American communities with regard to the conditions likely to enhance or impede the success of intervention innovations. At this point we can only suggest that community scale is likely to be a major factor in determining the character of educational-welfare styles. It may be argued that the larger the community, the more likely will the *professional style* predominate in such efforts. The reasoning behind such an hypothesis is explicated as follows: The larger the community, the larger the scale of its educational and welfare efforts. The larger the scale of these efforts, the greater will be the organizational complexity of those agencies which house such efforts. The greater the organizational complexity, the more likely it will be that organizational predicaments will demand bureaucratic solutions. The greater the bureaucratization of welfare and education, the greater will be the demand to "go by the book" (This is a requisite of bureaucratic organization.) "Going by the book" is likely to demand practitioners specially trained in procedure and protocol. Moreover, bureaucratization implies standardized criteria for employment, criteria which allow for a measurement of the candidate's competence. Taken together, the need for specialized preparation and the presence of competence tests for employment add up to professional, or at least quasi-professional, orientation in terms of which the formal competence agents are likely to have to function. Thus, the hypothesis: the larger the community, the more likely will the professional style predominate in education and welfare.

Let us now turn our attention to the competence influences emanating from the ghetto neighborhoods and the families residing within them.

Condition 2: Neighborhood and Familial Influences

Our data on day-to-day life in the ghetto is quite extensive. What we present here will consist of a summary of repeated interviews and observations (see Section II, pp. 136-149). Although according to the logic-of-influence model we ought to separate our treatment of the family from that of the neighborhood environment, for the sake of economy in our presentation, we shall treat them together. Since they are both features of the black community, this mild liberty does not impair our scheme.

We have already noted some of the characteristics of the ghetto community earlier in this section of the report. Our specific concern here will be to communicate to the reader just what the ghetto offers as competence cues, what models of adult behavior exist there, and the extent to which these models are consonant with common expectations for competence in American society (see Section I, pp. 111-122). In presenting this material we will obviously make some interpretations with regard to its meaning. However, we have scrupulously attempted to avoid substituting interpretation for realities as perceived and described by the black residents of the ghetto. The reality we are attempting to portray is the reality which they have communicated to us; we are passing it along with interpretative comment deriving from the concern of this research for the problems of competence development which inhere in socially disenfranchised black communities. *One caveat should be entered before we begin. In every human group or community there is a range of variation with regard to almost any given characteristic. Thus, it should be remembered that what we describe is not likely to be universal in the ghetto community although it is characteristic of it.*

There is little or no conscious effort to reject conventional competence expectations in the black community. Contrary to views held by many, it would be difficult to argue that there exists in the ghetto community a sub-culture which legitimizes rejection of common standards of competence in the roles of breadwinner, husband and father, or wife, mother and homemaker. Although impoverished, there is no culture of poverty in this ghetto;

although black, there is no clearly articulated and universally accepted black culture in this ghetto. Competence conceptions are almost universally conventional.

A young man speaks of his abhorrence of welfare:

> I wouldn't want no strange woman social worker coming into my home to give me something. I would rather earn something myself.

A young man talks about families:

> Most of my friends should be happier with their families than when they are with their friends, but most are not ....It just seems like they got them a wild streak, and they have to turn that wild streak on, but after that streak is gone they just want to be home with their wife and everything....A man don't want a woman that somebody else doesn't have eyes for, but she also got to have a meal cooked for you when you come home, keep a clean house, and take care of the children. [A good family is] a woman that knows what a man likes and a man that knows what a woman likes and they put that together. A good man provides for his household wants and needs first--wife, kids, and household needs.

An adolescent girl seeking perfection in a future husband wants a man who is:

> . . . kind, generous, very warm-hearted, not domineering but still he is the one who is considerate, thoughtful, responsible, hardworking, educated and ambitious.

An adolescent girl condemns Negro men for not being good fathers:

> . . . I think they show a very bad example to smaller children who are growing up. . . they don't care about their children until the children are older and are working to do something for them. I mean if the child can't do anything for them, they don't want to be bothered with them. They don't want to have any part in bringing the child up or helping the child in schoolwork. . .

A married, middle-aged woman comments:

> I think people in this community is like the people in all communities everywhere. We want the best for our kids that we can give them and we want a good education for our kids so they may be able to support

> theirself and live like other people live because it is important they do. . . .

Another married, middle-aged woman comments:

> . . . I think that everybody that you talk to around in here would like for their child to have an education cause it is kinda hard because the money is scarce, but still they want the child to have an education.

A married, middle-aged woman comments on welfare:

> Well I think a person should get out and do honest work, do the right thing, cause they be's better than begging or being on ADC or things like that.

An old woman reflects on the childrearing inadequacies of working mothers and their husbands:

> When they come in they don't have no time to spend any time with him [the child] cause you know she [the mother] got to come and cook. I don't know what the daddy do unless he sit down and don't want to be bothered.

An old man criticizes mothers who "run around":

> If these women would keep their ass out of that tavern or around bootlegging and stay at home and take care of those kids like they should, those kids wouldn't be out in the street.

An old man on individual effort:

> . . . The Lord give me my health and strength. I'm supposed to do the rest. If a man can't do it with health and strength, baby, he can't do nothing.

An adolescent boy on education:

> The important thing for the Negro today is to get as much education as he can.

Another adolescent boy:

> People get on ADC because they're lazy.

A young mother on her children's education:

> Well I...want them to have as much as they can get. At least when you go through school twelve years,

> you learn how to type and you takes trade in mostly your Senior year...and then when you come out after twelve grades you can get a decent job.

These representative statements directly express and indicate an underlying conventionality not dissimilar from that which one would expect to find among the white citizens of this middle-western community. In spite of their isolation and disadvantage, the blacks in the community we studied evaluate their fellows in terms of standard expectations for competence in American society.

But what of the actual behavior? Given the conventionality of competence expectations, to what extent are these expectations realized in the day-to-day life of the ghetto community? To what extent are there models of conventional competence available to the growing child? On the basis of our research, we must conclude that in spite of the conventional expectations the characteristic day-to-day behavior of the people in the ghetto is unconventional, that is, it characteristically violates the competence conceptions held out as ideal by the blacks themselves: the standard American expectations for social competence.

In describing the day-to-day life of the ghetto, there is one overriding characteristic or social fact which sets it apart from the rest of the community. The ghetto is characterized by the preeminence of what may be called *status-incursion*. In most settings, social order depends upon the maintenance of fairly explicit status boundaries. That is, in most social settings individuals characteristically occupy certain statuses, behave in terms of the role prescriptions for these statuses, and accrue to themselves the rewards and prerogatives which identify the statuses. While individuals occupy a number of status positions, they also are aware of the statuses of others together with the rewards and prerogatives of the latter. If social order is to be maintained, this recognition by individuals of statuses they do not occupy must also be accompanied by their willingness to recognize the legitimate rights of others to the statuses in question, and by a willingness to forego the rewards and prerogatives which accrue thereto. This does not preclude an individual from aspiring to certain statuses which he does not presently occupy so long as his aspiration falls within the range of institutionally appropriate possibilities for individuals occupying his complex of statuses, and so long as he recognizes and abides by the preordained conditions for their realization. Let us put this somewhat more concretely. A fifteen-year-old boy normally occupies the following complex of statuses: 1) he is an *adolescent*, his age-cohort status; 2) he is a *student*, meaning that he is a subordinate in school; 3) he is a *son*, meaning that he is still a dependent member of a nuclear family; 4) he is a *male*, his irrevocable sexual status. Such a boy will also have an awareness of statuses he does not occupy and recognizes those who have legitimate rights to them. He is, for example, aware of *adulthood* as an age status, *fatherhood and motherhood* or *marital estate* (husband and wife) as non-dependent status in the nuclear family, and, of course, of the irrevocable difference in sexual statuses as between *men and women*. Some of these non-occupied statuses (those he does not occupy) he may not legitimately aspire to because of the status he presently occupies. Because he is a male he may not legitimately aspire to femininity or motherhood; to do so would mark him as deviant. He may aspire to some such as adulthood, fatherhood, and the married estate so long as he recognizes that in this society his present age status does not permit their immediate realization. He contributes to the maintenance of order in his social setting by recognizing those who have legitimate rights to the positions which he does not occupy and by tacitly assenting to their claims to the prerogatives and rewards which are associated with such statuses. In a situation in which a large number of fifteen-year-old boys attempt to realize institutionally illegitimate statuses (that is, statuses which are illegitimate for fifteen-year-old boys) and in which the claims of the legitimate occupants to associated prerogatives and rights are rejected by these boys, a condition of *status incursion* exists, a condition characterized by excessive conflict resulting in a weakening of the normal social order. Status is *social property*, and *status incursion* may be conceived of as *social theft*.

Why status incursion and the consequent social disorder should become characteristic among a particular group of people is not empirically determinable at this time. However, in our research we did find it to be characteristic of the ghetto population and we offer the following general hypothesis with regard to its etiology. *Status incursion* will occur when individuals occupying institutionally legitimate status positions are systematically deprived of the prerogatives and/or rewards generally associated with such status positions. When status positions are unrewarding, the individuals occupying them will seek to rid themselves of them and to accrue to themselves the rewards and prerogatives of statuses they may not legitimately occupy. Concretely, if fifteen-year-old boys are deprived of the rewards of adolescence, of familial dependence, of being students, or of masculinity, they will seek the rewards which they perceive as inhering in other status positions such as adulthood. As a consequence, they are likely to attempt a *theft of status* and the process of *status incursion* will be set in motion.

In the ghetto community which we studied positions of status, which in the larger community and society have accrued to them certain rewards and prerogatives, are often unrewarding. This is a function of the generally disadvantaged situation in which blacks find themselves as they go about their lives in a community which only infrequently takes their needs and desires into account. Whereas among the white middle-class who predominate in the community-at-large the adult man can expect a predictable flow of rewards accruing to him for his participation in the economy, black men cannot generally be secure in any such expectation. The possession of skills or specific task qualifications is no guarantee of employment and consequent reward in just correlation to their possession. Even formal commitments often fail to be honored or are honored only after an issue is made of the fact. At this writing, a program set up to train local Negroes in mental health jobs seems on the brink of collapse because the agency committed to employ indigenous black men has failed to do so several months after the trainees qualified for the positions in question.

For Negro men, the failure to receive equitable and predictable compensation for economic effort can mean deprivation of rewards and loss of prerogatives in the status of husband and father. Talcott Parsons has noted that the maintenance of masculine status within the nuclear family depends upon the man's continued adequate participation in the economy. He argued that economic inadequacy will result in the loss of interpersonal rewards within the family context (Talcott Parsons, 1955). To the extent that this is true the economic deprivation of black men in the community we studied increases the potential of loss of rewards usually associated with the father-husband status within the family. The economically unrewarded or under-rewarded man cannot exercise the disciplinary prerogatives of fatherhood or the leadership prerogatives of the husband, for he is seen by his wife and children as contributing less than he should to their well-being. Not being able to depend upon him, they do not accept the legitimacy of his status claims. He not only is more likely to lose commonly expected prerogatives, but also the rewards of familial esteem and affection which are more or less characteristic of the father-husband status in American society.[15]

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[15] *Note:* The weakened status of Negro men in their families has been linked historically to their economic irrelevance to the family unit. See: E. F. Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

Black women are also deprived of common status rewards and prerogatives in this community. In the white community a woman usually can expect that her homemaking efforts will result in the kind of home from which she can derive some satisfaction. Black women in the ghetto, daily confronted with the gross physical inadequacies of their dwellings, have no assurance that their efforts will result in a home in which they can take some pride or satisfaction. Thus, the potential for loss of commonly expected rewards in homemaking is much higher for black women than it is for white women because the community has relegated its black citizens to poor housing.

The economic deprivation of black men indirectly deprives black women of some of the common rewards usually associated with conjugal status. The strain caused by the man's economic inadequacy can deprive the woman of those interpersonal gratifications which a wife can expect in a relatively harmonious marriage. In American conjugality, the status rewards of the wife are contingent upon the successful role playing of the husband. Anything which therefore limits the possibilities of husbandly success increases the possibility that the wife will not derive commonly expected interpersonal gratification in her marriage.

One might expect that adolescent status in the ghetto community would be least subject to the loss of rewards. It is, after all, easy to see adolescence--any adolescence--in a relatively small community with accessible country side as a picturesque idyl à la Booth Tarkington. Unfortunately, black adolescents are just as deprived of status rewards and prerogatives as their elders, if not more so. And once again we must note that such deprivation is a function of the general character of black disadvantage in the community. Adolescence in American society is the time during which the individual seeks his adult identity by rehearsing with his peers the adult roles he will soon be expected to play.[16] These rehearsals hopefully occur in a benign, supportive environment. In return for rehearsing their futures, adolescents in such environments can claim as their rewards the gratifications of what might be termed the adventure of becoming. For the black adolescents of the ghetto the probability of attaining such rewards is severely reduced by virtue of the fact that for most of them the environment is neither benign nor supportive. In the painfully desegregated secondary schools of the community, their status as students is likely to be far less rewarding than is the same status of the majority of their white peers. They are, for example, more likely than their white peers to be relegated to remedial and vocational programs which, by the testimony of the teachers who work in them, tend to stigmatize those students in them as stupid and less able than those who are not. Within the vocational programs themselves black students are more likely than white students to receive unequal treatment--such as assignments to dead-end jobs in the work-study program--because their instructors believe (quite correctly as it turns out) that their vocational future is limited by the discriminatory hiring practices which are characteristic of the community. The stigmatization and loss of reward in the status of student is probably all the more damaging because the secondary schools draw their students from all class levels within the community (a function of community scale) and therefore the black student has constantly available to him a picture of the rewards which, while inaccessible to him, are obtainable as a matter of course to other students--particularly the middle-class whites. There are other deprivations to be experienced, or at least believed, by black adolescents in their student status. They complain that they have generally been excluded from meaningful participation in extra-curricular activities such as dramatics. (The dramatics teacher at one high school claims that there is no systematic exclusion but recognizes that black students do not try out for productions *because they believe* they will not get a fair chance.) Even athletics is claimed to be discriminatory although there does not seem to be any definite evidence of this. (Blacks report that for every talented black athlete who is allowed to participate, there are many others who are not. It is true that as of 1968 there were no black cheerleaders and no black team managers.) Even if there is no discrimination at all, the blacks, because of the racial gestalt in the schools, believe that there is. As a consequence, they seem reluctant to participate, thereby denying themselves the possibility of many rewards characteristic of the student status.

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[16] *Note:* For a discussion of adolescence in these terms see Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1950) pp. 227-229.

Much of adolescent rehearsing for adulthood goes on in recreational settings, formal and informal. Given the racial situation in the community we studied, black adolescents are likely to feel unwelcome in many of the formal settings in the community. Inter-racial gathering places are approached warily by blacks and as we have noted earlier, the recreational facilities within the ghetto leave much to be desired. As a consequence, black adolescents feel constrained in their mobility throughout the community and such constraint may be understood as a deprivation of status rewards and prerogatives. Constraints upon recreational mobility are indeed constraints upon the adventure of becoming.[17]

Being a son or a daughter is a meaningful status only to the extent that fathers and mothers are interpersonally adequate. In the ghetto situation where economic deprivation lowers the probability of interpersonal adequacy in the family--particularly on the part of Negro fathers--it also indirectly deprives the adolescents of the interpersonal gratifications which must be counted as important status rewards for people in that age group. What are the interpersonal rewards which accrue to the fatherless son or daughter? What are the interpersonal rewards which accrue to the adolescent whose mother must work long hours because of the economic inadequacy of the father? What indeed are the interpersonal rewards of an adolescent who is consistantly confronted by strife between his parents? The position of black adults in this community is such that it increases the probability (relative to most white adolescents) that the status of son and daughter will be empty of the rewards usually associated with them in American society.

In summary, the position of the ghetto residents in the community-at-large is such that it deprives their common statuses of common rewards and prerogatives. This, we argue, is at the root of the process of *status incursion* which is characteristic of the ghetto.

The characteristic *status incursions* found in the ghetto we studied may be listed briefly as follows:

1) Defaulting in the role of provider, many men attempt to infringe on the prerogatives of dependency usually associated with the woman's status within the family context.

2) Rejecting work roles and family status, many men compete with adolescents for "turf" or social space within the community for their increased interests in recreational avocations such as gambling and drinking.

3) Rejecting family status, many men compete with adolescent boys for sexual access to adolescent girls.

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[17] *Note:* Black adolescents have used univ
but with a certain amount of trepidation. Some
stopped by university police and questioned with
reasons for being in the campus area.

4) Deprived of dependency prerogatives by the economic inadequacies and conjugal defaults of men, many women re-enter the dating-mating pool of available women in competition with younger single women. This is an intensification of what Professor Bernard Farber has called *permanent availability*.

5) Deprived of the common status rewards of adolescence in the schools and in their families, many youngsters attempt to opt out of this status in the following ways:

    a) Adolescent boys leave school and become strictly *local* spending their time in competition with older men for recreational space and for sexual access to unattached women and adolescent girls.

    b) Adolescent girls enter into a sexual competition with adult women.

    c) Adolescent boys take up new status as members of juvenile gangs which attempt to impose an informal sovereignty over community facilities usually controlled by adults; a case in point is the control exercised by one juvenile gang over a local community center.

There are two important implications which may be drawn from the fact of *status incursion*. In the first place such a phenomenon underlies the high incidence of conflict internal to the ghetto community. Encroachments upon status prerogatives and status rewards tend to be met with hostility on the part of those who feel they are being crowded. In the extreme, this phenomenon has resulted in actual physical confrontation. When a gang of adolescents learned that a group of adult men wanted to "take them over," a major battle was avoided at the last minute as the gang leader saw the wisdom of compromise. Beyond such confrontation, *status incursion* underlies, at least in part, the internal fragmentation of the black community. Status conflicts make it difficult to forge solidarity among those who are party to such conflicts. This is one reason (among others) it has been difficult to organize the ghetto residents in behalf of community aims.

More important to the immediate concerns of this report, the problem of social competence development, *status incursion* means that in spite of widespread endorsements of conventional conceptions of competence there is widespread competence default in the roles of provider (breadwinner) husband and father and for women widespread default in the role of wife. (We have no evidence of widespread default in the roles of mother and homemaker.) Not only are children and adolescents exposed to widespread behavioral violations of conventional competence expectations among adults, but young children are also exposed to adolescent behaviors which consistantly opt out of conventional adolescent status. Thus, we have to conclude that the neighborhood environment is rife with qualities which impede rather than enhance the development of conventional social competence.

It can not be emphasized too strongly, however, that these impeding qualities are *situational adaptations* to the generally disadvantaged position of blacks in the community we studied. Without the economic disadvantage of the men and without the unfortunate educational experiences of many of the adolescents the incidence of *status incursion* would no doubt be markedly reduced. It would be a mistake to see the behaviors noted in this report as sub-cultural. There is little justification for them within the community itself. It is not a culture complex which needs to be modified but rather the relationship of blacks to the white social system of the local community which needs to be modified. Reform must come in the direction of creating solutions in which conventional statuses can be endured because conventional rewards are earned by those who behave competently in the roles associated with them.

There are, of course, adolescents who appear to be realizing their potentials for conventional competence. How do they seem to be accomplishing this? In an earlier section of this report we suggested that the impeding factors in the immediate neighborhood environment might be neutralized as a result of an agreement in competence cues between formal competence agents and the family. We suggested that given the family's intensity of impact upon the growing child, when familial competence cues are in conformity with the competence cues presented by formal competence agents there might be some potential for overcoming the effects of a competence-impeding neighborhood environment. At this time, we are not in a position to present definitive findings relevant to this hypothesis. However some of our material does suggest that the hypothesis may have some validity.

In some of the cases where the adolescents seemed to be realizing conventional competence, i.e., they were very successful in school and displayed little inclination to opt out of conventional adolescence, we found that the family competence cues were indeed quite conventional and that for one idiosyncratic reason or another, the formal competence agents, particularly school personnel, had developed what might be termed a collaborative relationship with the parents or parents surrogates. (This in spite of the fact that, generally speaking, the intervention style of the schools did not enhance the probabilities of such an occurrence. See this section pp. 183-185.)

There is, for example, some indication that such a collaboration or alliance comes into effect when the child in question displays a special skill or talent which is important to the school or to some aspect of the school's program. Take the case of Ben Williamson (a pseudonym). Ben is a high school senior who very early demonstrated remarkable athletic ability. In high school Williamson played football, basketball, and baseball, and ran on the track team. His family life was such that a step-father played a minimal role in the lives of his children. Nevertheless, he did demonstrate competence in the breadwinner role by working steadily as a technical inspector for the department of the Army. Mrs. Williamson appears to be a very strong woman, the dominating figure in the family, who cares for her family and also holds a civil-service job. Because Ben's athletic prowess has been important to the school, the professional personnel in the school seemed to have taken a special interest in him. As a consequence teachers and mother have appeared to work together to steer the adolescent in question away from the environment of his immediate neighborhood. There have been consultations between school personnel (the coaches) and the mother on everything from the way she disciplines him to his plans for the future. (There is some possibility that he may become a professional baseball player after graduation.) Ben Williamson is and has been *important* to the school he attends. He draws attention to the school and is a source of pride. Because of his recognized exceptionality he derives adolescent status gratifications which many of his black peers are denied. He spends more time involved in school and school-related activities than he does in his neighborhood. As a result, the probable deleterious impact of the neighborhood environment has been neutralized. It has been less of an impeding factor in his development than it is in the lives of less ostensibly exceptional black children and adolescents.

Without pushing too far with this, the material we have analyzed to date suggests the following: When the competence agents develop an effective alliance with the families of ghetto children, those children are likely to be spared overexposure to a neighborhood environment which strongly militates against conventional competence development. Given the generally counter-productive styles, professional and local, of the competence agents, such alliances or collaborative relationships are likely to occur when there is "something in it for the competence agents," some reward, e.g., being the coach of a great high school athlete. Such collaboration is also more likely to take place when the family's competence orientation more likely approximates the conventional expectations than the characteristic competence violating behaviors of the immediate (ghetto) neighborhood. The collaboration seems to work. How is the collaborative relationship to be cemented when the child or adolescent is less than exceptional and the family competence orientation violates standard expectations?

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The Logic of Influence: Some Conclusions and Reflections on the Unthinkable

In the middle-sized city we studied, we found that the formal competence agents were tied either to a self-defeating *professional* style of intervention or to a *local* style which in its embrace of the *rural-based* conventional wisdom was hardly calculated to bring poor black people into meaningful participation in the community.

We found, moreover, that the actualization of general prejudices against the poor and the black was such that the ghetto population had to be considered institutionally irrelevant, isolated, and deprived within the community.

Finally we noted that deprivation of status rewards leads to competence default and chronic *status incursion* in the ghetto in spite of the fact that conventional conceptions of social competence were endorsed as being expected and desirable.

Thus, we would have to conclude that for any black child growing up in this community the probabilities of attaining general competence by virtue of the socialization process *are extremely limited.* As things stand today there is very little to indicate that the present generation of ghetto children will obtain a measurable increment in social competence over that of their parents. The prognosis is not good because for the most part all levels of influence seem to be operating to impede rather than enhance the probabilities of realizing their competence potentials.

There are questions which remain unanswered. For example, we do not know on the basis of this research to what extent this prognosis is true for large metropolitan areas and cities of the same scale in other regions of the United States. We have touched upon comparative problems and implications of our findings in this report. Nevertheless, definitive statements with regard to the problems of competence development which blacks have in urban contexts must await further systematic comparisons.

In concluding a report such as this it is customary to present a series of recommendations. We would like to conclude with a series of reflections on possible strategies of educational and welfare intervention in communities such as the one we have been studying.

How can the pessimistic prognosis be reversed? The usual answers which come from educationists and welfare technicians would have us believe that if only the right pre-school curricula, the right grade-school curricula, or the right welfare formula, etc., could be invented then ghetto children would be better prepared to contend with the increasing options they have in the society-at-large. Without denying the importance of such inventiveness it seems to this writer that answers like these are insufficient in their ignorance of situational impediments to competence development. The proliferation of innovative curriculum developments such as those reported in Vol. I of this document is technically impressive; but as the mounting evidence indicates, it is also *ineffective* as the sole response to the problems the innovators are seeking to address. Some critics of these programs, find them to be inadequate because of some presumed unmodifiable condition (e.g., a genetically determined inability to abstract) in the target population (at least the black target population) which precludes the effectiveness of any innovation which does not take this inherent and irrevocable condition into account. The evidence for the presence of such an impediment is tenuous and it would seem gratuitous at this point to modify curriculum programs on the basis of such criticism.

It is probably true that on some level nearly all of these innovations could be beneficial. The extent of their effectiveness, however, *is not* a function of technical proficiency. It *is* a function of the situational (or social) contexts in which they are employed. When we focus upon innovation in virtual exclusion of context, and when our criticism is directed almost exclusively to the content of such innovations we unintentionally divert attention from what are most likely to be the factors determining success or failure. In so doing we sustain a technicist myth. We delude ourselves and seduce our professional audience into believing that all we need do is to continue our search for that elusive educational formula which will set things right and bestow upon the so-called disadvantaged their often denied birthright to full participation in this society. Pursuing such a course is not only foolhardy, it is a dangerous threat to the viability of orderly reform as a method of remediation. As such efforts continue to fail the probability of wide-spread despair will increase. The educational and welfare professionals will lose faith in their abilities to help "those people," their sponsors will cease providing them with funds for their work, and "those people" will in turn become even more alienated than is presently the case from an "establishment" which they perceive as self-seeking and unconcerned with their plight.

Given the character of the educational welfare establishment in the community we studied as well as the character of the deprivation and institutional insignificance of the blacks in that community, it is difficult to see how any innovation--no matter how technically sufficient--can succeed. A program administered by those who are unequivocably committed to the *professional style* would be rendered ineffective by the maintenance of excessive social distance between the professionals and the clients. A program which requires the collaboration of those who are uncritically committed to the *local style* would soon be emasculated by the prejudices inherent in the conventional wisdom of the white majority in the community. A program which does not recognize that learning difficulties and competence problems are a function of the ghetto community's situational adaptation to the political and economic conditions of its institutionalized disadvantage would simply be irrelevant.

What then is to be done? The obvious answer is that less effort ought to be devoted to technical solutions and more effort ought to be spent developing models of political and economic solutions which if adopted might create situational contexts in which the educational innovations--of which there is already an abundance--might have lasting positive effects. But what *specifically* should be done? There are two models which we can propose for communities such as the one we studied; the *first* is *reasonable but improbable;* the *second* is *outrageous,* but in the long-run it may be our only choice.

The first approach or model places emphasis upon attempts to convince decision-makers in the community-at-large--in the polity, in the economy, in education and in welfare--of the necessity of changing the manner in which the white social system faces onto the ghetto community. It would mean convincing them of the black's disadvantage and institutional insignificance. This, for example, means *convincing* union leaders that they ought not discriminate in their apprenticeship programs; it means *convincing* local employers that they ought to spend time and effort recruiting black employees (particularly men) for positions above the menial level; it means *convincing* the local "establishment" of the need for major reform in the political system, reform which would guarantee to the blacks representation on all decision-making bodies in the community; it means *convincing* the local-style welfare operatives of the inherent injustice and prejudice in their approach to blacks; it means *convincing* the professional style educators and welfare operatives of the self-defeating nature of the way they approach their work with the blacks. That is a lot of *convincing,* particularly when one understands that *it is not in the immediate interests* of those who need such convincing to make the required changes. For example, union *discrimination is* in the interest of those who are union members. By keeping out an easily identifiable group of people, the construction unions can control the local skilled labor supply so that the demand for such labor is likely to be in excess of the supply. Recruitment of blacks for non-menial jobs from the perspective of local employers would seem to require an unnecessary expenditure of time, effort, and money, particularly since menial employment and under-employment has not resulted in an appreciable loss of Negro customers. Political reform would mean sharing power and people who have power are loathe to lose even some of their prerogatives. The local-style welfare operatives, elected or appointed, function in terms of the local conventional wisdom. For fear of losing their jobs if for no other reason they are likely to be resistive to changes which run counter to the popular mores of the white majority. The professional style educators and other related operatives are forever waging a battle to convince laymen of their rights to professional status and the rewards which go with it.

They are thus hardly likely to become convinced that their effectiveness in the ghetto depends upon something other than the approaches they regard as defining their special competence. We ought to be sophisticated enough in our social science to know that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to move people in the direction of reform which, in fact, seems counter to their narrow, but nevertheless real, interests. It appears that although the reforms of which we speak are moderate and desireable, that although they would result in a situation which, in all probability, would eventually extend the influence of formal competence agents and reduce the extent of status incursion within the ghetto, there is little likelihood that they could be achieved under the present circumstances.

The second approach or model is offered with the declaration that contrary to appearances it is a prescription for the *eventual integration* of black men and women into American society as full participants. This approach takes as given the immense difficulty of attempting to move people against their perceived interests. Because of this, it is an approach which seems outrageous but is in fact consonant with the interests of both black and white. Therefore, it is an approach which holds the possibility of realization.

The model here proposed is a model of social, economic, and political reform which seeks to bring about long range integration by short range *permissive community separatism. The intent of the model is to create those conditions which will maximize the realization of the black's competence potential in both prescribed and volitional roles.* By *permissive separatism* the author means the following.[18]

Instead of attempting to make the black ghetto community more significant or relevant to the white community, it is recommended that the black community's isolation from the white social system be formalized by virtue of its secession from the two municipalities of the community and with the assistance of direct federal grants-in-aid that it incorporate itself as a separate municipality. The black community would then be in a position to determine (within limits to be sure) its own destiny. It would elect its own municipal officers and its own school board and provide its own welfare services. As part of the secession agreement it would be granted parcels of municipal lands sufficient to house the development of local industry. Such industry would be developed on the basis of contracts negotiated with firms seeking to develop plant facilities in the general area of the community in question. Full secession would not take place until such industries provided a viable economic base for a community of some 10,000 people. On the assumption that the community does not possess all the skills necessary for the provision of all municipal services, particularly in the areas of education and welfare, elected officials would be given the power to import these services on a contractual basis from the community's immediate neighbors. The community would pay for these services and would thus be in a position to determine, to some extent at least, the manner in which they are provided.

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[18] *Note:* Because of the probable controversial nature of this proposal the author wishes to make clear that it is his proposal and his alone. Its presentation here does not imply agreement by either the major study directors or members of his staff.

Envisioned in this proposal is a situation in which the ghetto takes *possession of itself*. It would establish for the black residents the opportunity for meaningful political participation, the opportunity to make decisions effecting their own lives, instead of having to defer to white decision-makers who cannot be counted upon to recognize their needs.

The key to such a proposal is money. It will take money to purchase real property from outside landowners; it will take money to indemnify the municipalities from which the community secedes; it will take money to contract for educational and welfare services. Since the ghetto is impoverished, such money must come from somewhere else and it must come with few strings attached. The obvious source of such funding is the federal government. The case for federal funding can be made as follows: The federal government already spends a considerable amount for welfare services which eventually end up in the ghetto. Under this proposal it would fund the ghetto community directly by a system of grants to its municipal government. To those who would argue that this represents the allocation of amounts in excess of present expenditures for the same population, we say this is probably true; but such increased expenditures are necessary. To those who would argue that this represents special treatment, we answer again this is probably true but such special treatment is necessary and can be justified. It may, for example, be argued that the monies to be granted are in fact owed to black people. Such grants can be seen as indemnification for the criminal enslavement of their forefathers and the centuries of unrewarded enforced labor under slavery which contributed to the economy of this nation. The grants may thus be conceived of as repaying a debt of honor.

No doubt many will argue that such a proposal cannot work. They may maintain that it would be impossible to convince the existing municipalities to allow secession on the terms outlined above. It seems to this author, however, that if the federal government offers to provide funds so that the municipalities will receive value for their losses, and given the fact that secession would relieve the tax burden of the white community, it may not be as difficult to strike an agreement as it first may seem. After all, the racial tenor of the community is such that it would probably be easier to convince the whites of the virtues of *separatism* than it would be to convince them of the virtues of *integration*.

Some may question the viability of a community which admittedly would have to be built by people who have little organizational and political experience. Moreover, they might argue that given the extensive internal conflict in the ghetto, factionalism would soon destroy the experiment. In answer to these criticisms, this writer would argue as follows: There are individuals in the ghetto who do take leadership roles and do exert influence. They would no doubt constitute the nucleus of the municipal polity. Secondly, by creating a situation in which there are *real* rewards for participation and by creating a challenge--a challenge to show the doubters and particularly local white doubters that the community can be successful--the likelihood is that strife and excessive internal conflict can be mitigated. As we have noted in the body of this report, much of the internal conflict in the ghetto occurs because of its deprived character. By removing the deprivation, by making conventional rewards accessible, such conflict as now exists may disappear (not overnight) or at least be reduced to such proportions as not to threaten the viability of the community.

It must be emphasized that the proposed separatism is permissive. One would hope, however, that the experiment can be made attractive enough to hold the loyalties of those who might otherwise wish to leave. Moreover, it is proposed that the experiment go into effect only upon endorsement by a large majority of those people presently residing within the ghetto.

Finally, it must be remembered that *community separatism* is not an end in itself, but rather a *means* to a true state of integration between black and white. If the present situation exists as we have described it, there is little chance of an immediate move to integration. The gulf between white and black in the community is too great to be effectively bridged at present. Generations of black children will reach maturity denied, denigrated, and, consequently, without the full competence to demand meaningful participation in the community. The underlying hypothesis in the proposed community separatism holds that by giving responsibility to those who are presently denied it, a social context will be created which enhances the realization of competence potential. The sooner large numbers of blacks are able to realize in their behavior the competence expectations *they themselves endorse*, the sooner will they and their children lift themselves from despair and give undeniable challenge to the racial dichotomy in American life. It is for this reason and this reason alone that permissive community separatism is being proposed. While it might not be effective in all urban contexts, there is a good chance that it can be effective in urban communities such as the one we have studied.

Although this proposal may seem impractical, it is the *only practical solution* if it is the *only* solution. Technicism in educational and welfare intervention appears, for the reasons we have given, to be less than adequate unless it is accompanied by situational reform. Situational reform which seeks its success without changing the basic organization of the community will--again for the reasons we have given--most likely fail. By a process of elimination, therefore, it would seem that we are left with the model of *permissive community separatism.*

Conclusion: The Perils of Technical Emphasis in Educational Innovation

Each of the studies presented in this report contributes to a sociological critique of contemporary educational intervention among the poor or the "disadvantaged." While each study has proceeded with an independent conceptualization and methodology, all three investigators have argued that curriculum development which neglects social context is likely to be unsuccessful. This is the summary conclusion which must be drawn from Farber's concern with the impact of kinship upon socialization, from Harvey's enjoinder to the effect that the educational problems of the lower class can not be solved in the classroom, and from Lewis' proposition that in some cities, at least, black children will not benefit from educational innovation unless it occurs in conjunction with the separation of the black ghetto from the white dominated community.

These conclusions may be upsetting to those who are committed to continual curriculum innovation in search of a panacea which will realize the long deferred dreams of America's dispossessed. We respect the worthy intentions of those who subscribe to such a course. We certainly do not want to disparage the technical proficiency which they bring to bear on the problems they have set out to solve. Nevertheless, our findings compel us to warn against placing faith (and of course, funds) in a narrow technical approach. *Technical emphasis in educational reform* (particularly that which is intended for the dispossessed) may preclude any possibility of educators making a positive contribution to the obliteration of the social and economic injustices which victimize millions of Americans. In the end such programs may even unwittingly contribute to the collapse of the existing social order.

Technical emphasis in education, as it is in welfare services, is a symptom of a condition which may be termed *progressive status-quoism*. If this term seems to contradict itself, we would assure our readers that it does so intentionally. We have chosen this label because the condition it characterizes is a social contradiction. Progressive status-quoism occurs when there is a *symbolic* (or apparent) attack on a social problem. Such an attack seldom acknowledges or deals adequately with the structural roots of the problem and does no more than to foster the illusion that *something* is being done when in reality *nothing* or very little is being accomplished.

As applied to any social system progressive status-quoism is most likely to occur when a conflict exists between ultimate value commitments and the personal interests of a large number of people. When, for example, the values demand equal economic opportunity for everyone, those who benefit from limiting employment opportunities of others may experience psychic and moral tension. This tension can be excruciating. Personal interest is a most powerful determinant of behavior; yet to persist in behaviors which sustain self-interest (i.e., exclusion from employment), but violate basic values (i.e., equal opportunity) creates a continual state of defensiveness. The problem becomes one of serving one's interests by continuing to withhold jobs from certain individuals while at the same time freeing oneself of the censure resulting from such behavior.[1] The solution is to be found in progressive status-quoism where, by supporting efforts which seem to address the problem of inequality of opportunity but which in their conception and execution do not threaten acts of limitation and exclusion. those who profit from such behavior can create the illusion of reform and thus relieve their psychic and moral tension.

Progressive status-quoism is, however, inherently unstable. In fact, the status-quo cannot be maintained by means of such social legerdemain. Progressive status-quoism is a prologue to a value change in the system which in the future will legitimize the deviant interests of the present. Since the efforts at reform are illusory, there will of course be no real change in the problem condition. For example, if there is no real expansion of opportunities for those previously excluded, their living conditions will not change markedly. In such a circumstance one might expect the eventual return of moral tension because the illusion of reform has been shattered. Quite to the contrary, another outcome is possible. After supporting "reform" efforts and perceiving no real change, it becomes possible to conclude that "nothing can be done," that those who are victimized are legitimately victimized because in one way or another they are incorrigible or beyond anything but custodial attention. In such a case it would then be possible to create a final justification for the exclusion of a given group without recognizing the moral culpability of those who have been taking advantage of them. The defining values would be changed--if ever so slightly--to allow for the limitation and exclusion of identifiable groups because "all that can be done has been done."

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[1] Note: Such censure can have both external and internal sources. On the one hand there is likely to be continuing criticism and pressure on the part of activists who take equal opportunity seriously as a value. On the other hand, those who arbitrarily exclude others from employment are likely to have internalized the value of equal opportunity which their behavior violates. They are thus likely to generate their own censure in the form of guilt feelings.

Such a state of affairs must itself generate increasing conflict in society. Those who are "legitimately" excluded are hardly likely to accept their fate. More alienated from the society than ever, distrustful of "moderate reform," they and those who sympathize with them are likely to embrace revolt and insurrection as the means to press their claims to equality. (In the case cited to equality of economic opportunity!) The revolt of a minority in turn is likely to evoke suppression on the part of agents of the challenged majority. The result can only be calculus of estrangement having its source in the delusiveness of progressive status-quoism.

As noted above, the authors of this report see technical emphasis in educational reform directed toward the dispossessed of this society as a case or symptom of progressive status-quoism. The educational problems of the poor--both black and white--are created and sustained in the community and kinship contexts of their lives. They are the superfluous people of our land, the victims of efficiency mores and hard-rock prejudice. There are many among us who benefit from this victimization but they do so in violation of the basic humaneness of what Gunnar Myrdal has called the American Creed. In order to relieve the moral tension attendent upon this contradiction they support--along with others whose motives are more admirable--reform programs in education which in their emphasis on cognitive manipulation and skill solely within the classroom context, leave untouched the sources of educational difficulty.

If the sources of difficulty are the victimizing social processes of the American community then classroom-bound educational innovation must fail. Having supported such innovation, having put so much effort into it, we run the risk of reading its failure to mean there is nothing which can be done. If we do this--and some have already begun to suggest that we can do little more for black children than to prepare them for manual labor--we will be assenting to and legitimating the continual victimization of millions of people--many of whom will not forget that those who professed friendship and concern did indeed forsake them. Technical emphasis creates an illusion which in its ultimate demise can only hurt the possibilities for viable reform. By its practice we contribute to a growing potential for disorderly as opposed to orderly change--for insurgency as opposed to collaboration....perhaps for revolution.

We know these are strong words. We feel, however, that the time is short and that educators and others involved in similar efforts no longer have the right to indulge their professional biases. The question is not one of what curriculum to adopt and how to train teachers in its use. It is time for us all, educators, social scientists, and social technocrats to face up to the need for structural change in American society. It is time for us all to stop creating the technical myth which must ultimately devour us all.

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Appendix A

Questions Pertaining to Relatives

The procedures for data collection in the kinship study were based on the assumption that three interviews would be required for each respondent. The first interview was intended to cover (1) purpose and procedures of the interviews in the study, (2) nuclear family relations, (3) questionnaires pertaining to children, (4) a listing of relatives to be discussed in subsequent interviews, and (5) the Torgoff developmental timetable. The second and third interviews covered (1) information about living relatives included on the extended-family form completed during the first interview, (2) information on deceased relatives on the extended-family form, and (3) for each living relative, 12 items pertaining to attitudes and interaction.

The descriptions of the interviews in this appendix include primarily those items for which responses were utilized in the data analysis in this monograph. There are other sections, mainly dealing with childrearing practices, assistance by relatives in caring for children, and information on deceased relatives. The information in this appendix is a collation of questions from the interview form and directions in the interviewer guide. The format of interview form has been modified in order to indicate the special instructions in the interviewer guide. Four sections of the interview are presented: (a) nuclear family relations, (b) extended family control form, (c) contemporary relatives sheet, and (d) the 12-item sheet.

NUCLEAR FAMILY RELATIONS

0. Preliminaries

First, I am going to ask some questions about your own family.

#1. How many children do you have?

a. Write in number -- including natural, adopted, step and dead.

b. If more than 8, write additional names on bottom of first page and on back of that sheet.

2. What are their names?

If at all unsure, ask for spelling.

#3. How old are they?

a. Age as of last birthday.

b. If child dead, ask: When born and when died; get birth order. (Record either in name space or at bottom of page.) Record (D) after name.

#4a. Are they all in school?

Transitional question. If no, why not? Record all responses except too young.

#4b. What grade are they in?

a. Record current grade.

b. If child has been in school but not now, record last grade with reason for leaving school (either at bottom of page or on back of sheet).

c. If the child is of school age and not in school, note what he (she) is doing.

#5a. Was any of them named after anyone in particular?

a. Note specific genealogical relationship -- fa so, mo br, fa si, wi fa si.

b. If your writing is not clear, spell as much of word as necessary -- son, sis.

c. If in doubt, check with respondent.

d. If no, draw dash --.

#5b. Are any of these adopted or step-children?

a. Circle Yes or No.

b. If child is adopted or step, put A (adopted) or S (step) in left margin preceding name of child.

#6a. Where were you born?

a. Obtain city and state in which respondent was born. If respondent brings up point that parents were just visiting this location briefly or born in transit -- record parents' residence at time.

b. If born in rural area, try to determine location of post office in which parents may have received mail and record this town or city and state and the word (rural) after it.

c. If foreign country, try to determine name of city, town, or rural region.

#6b. Year of birth?

a. Wording left to discretion of the interviewer.

b. Assist respondent if necessary. (E.g., subtract age from 1966.)

#6c. When did you move to C-U?

a. Record year.

b. If the respondent has lived in C-U intermittently, record dates of initial and subsequent periods of residence.

c. If moved around, record dates and locations of previous residences.

#6d. Are you working?

a. Probe for full or part time. Wording at discretion of the interviewer. If part time, note approximate amount of time.

b. If the respondent works intermittently, record as Y in the last period of employment has been within the past year.

#6e. (IF WORKING) What do you do?

a. Try to determine job title and actual duties and responsibilities. This information will enable accurate job classification.

b. If job may involve supervision of others, try to find out how many persons the respondent supervises (e.g., foreman).

Where do you work?

a. Try to determine place of employment.

b. Record whether self-employed or works for someone else.

#6e-2. Do you have any other source of income?

a. Record all sources of income respondent gives.

b. We are not asking for amount of income, however, record if respondent volunteers this information.

#6e-3. What other kinds of work have you done in the past?

a. If possible, get descriptive job title (e.g., washed cars) and company.

b. From - To; in years unless worked less than a year.

#6f-1. (IF NOT WORKING) What was your last job? When was this?

a. Determine where respondent was employed.

b. Determine job title(s) and actual duties and responsibilities. Obtain periods of time respondent worked.

c. If never worked, so indicate.

#6f-2. What other kinds of work have you done? When was this?

a. If possible, get descriptive job title (e.g., washed cars) and company.

b. From - To; in years unless worked less than a year.

#6f-3. What is your present source of income?

a. Record all sources of income respondent gives.

b. Again, we are not asking for amount; however, this should be recorded if the respondent volunteers this information.

#7a. How many years of schooling have you had?

a. Years completed (i.e., if the respondent went to eighth grade but did not complete the year, circle 7).

b. The respondent may need assistance in computing Jr. High and High School years. Grade school could mean 8 years or less depending upon where the person went to school.

#7b. Trade schools, colleges, degrees, completion.

a. If respondent has attended a trade school (i.e., a secondary school teaching the skilled trades) or college, record the name of the school.

b. Circle T or C (Trade school or college) for type of school.

c. Record kind of training respondent received.

d. Record length of time respondent attended (e.g., 2(Mo)Yr or 1 Mo(Yr)).

e. Record whether or not the course was completed and/or the degree given (e.g., completed - BA, completed - Journeyman card - completed - certificate).

f. If additional information is given, record under comments. If additional training did not include trade school or college, record what is said under comments. (e.g., The girl who had the job before I did, taught me bookkeeping or I became a barber by working with my father in his shop).

#8a. What is your religious preference?

a. We are asking for denomination (i.e., if respondent's response is Protestant, determine whether the person is Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, etc.).

b. If respondent has no religious preference, record none.

#8b. Do you belong to a church?

a. Ask if he (she) attends a church. Circle Y or N.

b. If respondent attends a church, record the name of the church.

#9. Are you married?

a. If the answer to this question is obvious (i.e., the husband or wife is being interviewed at the same time), the interviewer might say something like, "The answer to the next question, are you married, is fairly obvious" and circle Y without asking respondent to answer.

b. If respondent is not married, determine if he (she) is divorced, widowed, or single and circle DIV WID or S.

#10a. Is your husband living in the home with you?

If the answer to this question is obvious (i.e., the husband or wife is being interviewed at the same time), the interviewer could simply make the statement, "Your husband is living in the home with you" and circle Y.

#10b. (IF HUSBAND NOT LIVING IN HOME) How often do you see him?

a. If respondent is married but spouse is not living in the home, ask how often spouse is seen.

b. Use code card "how often you see relatives" (Figure 2 in this Appendix.) Explain the card to the respondent by reading each statement (i.e., A-Every day, B-Several times a week, etc.)

c. Ask the respondent to give you a letter which corresponds to how often he (she) sees spouse.

d. Repeat the letter and statement so there is no chance of error.

#11. What was the year of your marriage?

a. Record year.

b. Ask year of marriage regardless of present marital status (i.e., divorce, separation or death of spouse).

c. DK - guess. Record fact that response is guess ("guess").

#12. (IF DIVORCED, SEPARATED, OR WIDOWED) What was the year of divorce (separation, death of your husband)?

a. Record year.

b. DK - ("guess").

I would like to ask you a few questions about your husband.

#13. Where was your husband born?

a. Obtain city in which husband was born. If respondent brings up point that husband's parents were just visiting this location briefly or born in transit -- record his parents' residence at time.

b. If born in rural area, try to determine location of post office in which parents may have received mail, and record this town or city and state and the word (rural) after it.

c. If foreign country, try to determine name of city, town, or rural region.

#14. Year of birth?

a. Wording left to discretion of the interviewer.

b. If respondent does not know year of birth, ask "How old is he?" and record.

#15a. What does (did) your husband do? How long has he done this?

a. Try to determine job title and actual duties and responsibilities.

b. Determine by whom employed (e.g., Magnavox, Shumaker Construction Company, self-employed, etc.).

c. If job may involve supervision of others, try to find out how many persons the respondent supervises (e.g., foreman).

d. If DK, record respondent's statement, (e.g., "He doesn't tell me.").

#15b. What (other) kinds of work has he done? When was this?

a. Try to determine job title and actual duties and responsibilities.

b. Determine by whom employed.

c. From - To; In years unless worked less than year.

#15c. Does (did) he have any other source of income?

a. Record all sources of income given.

b. We are not asking for amount of income, however, record if respondent volunteers this information.

c. If farms ask if is a tenant or owns farm.

#16a. How many years of schooling has he had?

a. This is years completed (e.g., if he quit school when he was in the ninth grade he completed eight years).

b. Grade school could mean 8 years or less depending upon where he went to school. A respondent's conception of Junior High or Senior High School could also vary. Try to determine actual number of years.

#16b. (PROBE: Trade schools, colleges, degrees, completion)

a. If he has attended a trade school,(i.e., a secondary school teaching the skilled trades) or college, record the name of the school.

b. Circle T or C (Trade school or College) for type of school.

c. Record kind of training he received.

d. Record length of time respondent attended (e.g., 2 (Mo)Yr or 1 Mo(Yr)).

e. Record whether or not the course was completed and/or degree given (e.g., completed - BA; completed - journeyman card; completed - certificate).

f. If additional training did not include trade school or college, record what is said under comments. (e.g., "He received some electrical training while in the Navy").

#17a. What is his religious preference?

We are asking for denomination (i.e., if respondent's response is Protestant, determine whether he is Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, etc.).

#17b. Does he belong to a church?

a. Ask if he attends a church. Circle Y or N.

b. If respondent belongs to a church, record the name of the church.

#18. The next questions have to do with people living in your house (apartment) with you. Let's start with the children. Do all of your children live here with you? Any nieces or nephews? Your parents? Brothers or sisters? Any boarders? Anybody I might have missed?

a. Start with the children and record first names of all persons who are living in the home. Ask entire question.

b. If someone mentioned is living in the home only part of the year (e.g., Mother lives there 3 months out of each year, or husband's sister lives there during the summer months) record this information under comments.

c. If one or more children are not living at home, note where he (she) is.

#19. Which of your relatives do you see at least once a week?

a. Record the first names of all relatives (not living in household) who are seen at least once a week.

b. Determine and record relationships.

EXTENDED-FAMILY CONTROL FORM

This form will be used to determine which relatives will be discussed in the succeeding interviews. It is therefore necessary to obtain an accurate listing of the members of the extended family. You can preface this form by saying that "Now we are going to get a list of the relatives that we will talk about in the next interview. I won't ask you any specific questions about them now. If we get a list at this time, then we will note just which relatives to ask about and we can save a lot of time later."

#1. How many brothers and sisters do you now have?

a. Have any of your brothers or sisters died?

b. What are the first names of all of your brothers and sisters? (Including those who died?)

In asking for the first name of all the brothers and sisters, try to get a given name. For example, the respondent may answer "Pat." If he does so, ask "Is that Patrick?" If the respondent gives you a nickname, ask "Is that the name on his birth certificate?"

c. Are there any of these adopted, step, or half brothers?

#2a. Which sister do you see most often or have most contact with?

a. Often the respondent will say something to the effect that he sees all of his sisters about equally. If you cannot get him to choose one over the others, ask him to pick one at random. If he will not do so, then suggest one.

b. Try to ascertain whether the individual chosen is an adult. The respondent may provide the name of a sister who is a minor. For the purposes of this study an adult is someone who meets any of the following criteria: Over 16, married, employed full time, or is a parent.

c. If the respondent has no sisters or brothers, write none in the appropriate blanks. There will then be no doubt that the question was asked and that the respondent has no siblings. NOTE: Similarly, the word none is to be written in any blank where the respondent does not have any relative that he knows of in that category. He may not have a woman or a man cousin, aunt or uncle.

d. If the relative given is not an adult, write down the name of the relative and in addition obtain the name of an adult relative in the same category (e.g., an adult brother rather than a brother who is a child). NOTE: Inasmuch as the sheets on contemporary and deceased relatives are meant to be used with adults, adult relatives should be used in every category. When a minor is given, obtain an adult relative in the same category. In these instances, take the name of the minor sibling or cousin and write the name with the word minor in parentheses - (minor) and ask only the front side of the Contemporary Relative sheet.

#3a. a. Is she married now? (If no, determine whether adult.)

b. Do you know her husband?

c. What is his name?

The respondent may answer that he has met the husband but does not know him. As long as the respondent has met the husband or wife of the relative, you can ask the questions on the Contemporary Relative sheet.

#4a. a. Has your sister __________ ever been married before?

b. Did you know her previous husbands?

c. What were their names?

#5b. Which sister do you see next most often or have the next most contact with?

NOTE: Questions #3 and #4 are repeated for all brothers and sisters listed in response to Question #1b.

#6. a. Does your husband (wife) have any brothers or sisters?

b. How many does he have?

c. What are their names?

Determine which are minors.

#7. a. Have you been married before?

b. How many times?

c. What was (were) your former husband's (wife's) name(s)?

d. Are there any children from your former marriage(s) who are not now living with you? (PROBE: Which marriages?)

e. Did you know __________'s (previous spouse's) parents? Y N (List names.)

f. (1) Did your (first) former husband (wife) have any brothers or sisters?

(2) Did you know them? (List names.)

g. (1) Did your (second) former husband (wife) have any brothers or sisters?

(2) Did you know them? (List names.)

#8. a. Do you have any cousins?

b Which is the woman cousin you know best?

c. Which is the man cousin you know best?

(1) If the names of relatives are not known, then mark DK and the name by which this relative is referred to. For example, Charlie's aunt from Brazil or Uncle Joe's son.

(2) In number 8, Do you have any cousins? Take any cousins that the respondent gives and determine whether they are adults. For example, he may give you a second cousin rather than a first cousin.

#9. Now we come to your parents. What are their first names?

#10. a. Have you ever had any step parents?

b. What were (are) their names?

#11. a. Had you ever lived with anyone besides your parents?

b. What are their names?

c. When was this?

(1) Include in this any individual besides parents or grandparents with whom the individual has lived for more than one month.

(2) Include not only persons or families with whom this individual has lived before marriage but also after marriage. However, in asking for names, ask only for the parent surrogates (substitute fathers and mothers), the landlord or landlady if the individual has been a boarder; or if the household was

very large, only the persons with whom the respondent had most contact. Ordinarily, the person lived with an aunt or grandmother.

(3) If there is a large number of individuals with whom the respondent has lived at different times, try to get the two major persons.

#12. a. Does your mother have any brothers or sisters?

b. Which of your mother's sisters do you know best (or see most often)?

c. Which of your mother's brothers do you know best (or see most often)?

#13. a. Does your father have any brothers or sisters?

b. Which of your father's sisters do you know best (or see most often)?

c. Which of your father's brothers do you know best (or see most often)?

#14. (IF HAS STEP PARENT)

a. Does your (current) step parent have any brothers or sisters?

b. Which of your (current) step parent's sisters do you know best (or see most often)?

c. Which of your (current) step parent's brothers do you know best (or see most often)?

#15. Now for your husband's (wife's) parents -- what are their first names?

#16. a. Has your husband (wife) ever had any step parents?
Y N

b. What are their first names?

#17. a. Has your husband (wife) ever lived with anyone besides his (her) parents?

b. What are their names?

c. When was this?

#18. a. Do you know the name of your mother's mother?

b. Do you know the name of your mother's father?

c. Was either of your mother's parents married more than once?

d. To whom was he (she) married?

#19. a. Do you know the name of your father's mother?

b. Do you know the name of your father's father?

c. Was either of your father's parents married more than once?

d. To whom was he (she) married?

#20. a. Do you have any friends you consider "like family"?

b. What is his (her) name?

On question 20, Do you have any friends you consider "like-family", include only those members of the family to whom the individual feels close. For example, respondent may give a name of a couple but may regard only the husband or only the wife as being like family. If the respondent gives the name of a couple, ask "Do you consider them both as being like-family?"

#21. (IF NOT MARRIED OR LIVING WITH SPOUSE)

a. Do you have a boyfriend (girlfriend)?

b. What is his (her) name?

c. Do any of your former boyfriends ever visit your children? Which ones?

On question 21, Do you have a boyfriend? the respondent may say I have several. Ask "Is one of them a special boyfriend?" If the answer is yes, take this boyfriend. If no, take the two or three that the respondent regards as the best boyfriends or the ones toward whom she feels closest.

#22. a. Have we missed any relative toward whom you feel very close or see very often? (PROBE: Baby sitting, refer to Nuclear Family Form)

LET US GO THROUGH THE LIST OF RELATIVES ONCE TO SEE WHICH ONES ARE NO LONGER LIVING.

CONTEMPORARY RELATIVES
(See Figure 1)

#1. Relationship and name

a. If relative, enter genealogical relationship as in Figure 1.

b. Enter first name in space N. (PROBE: given name.)

c. If friend, enter length of time friend has been known in space R.

d. If relationship uncertain, enter possible alternatives with ? after each.

#2. What do you call him?

a. Term of address is sought here -- that is, what the respondent calls the relative when he talks with him. At times, it might be interesting to determine what the term of reference is -- that is, what the respondent calls the relative when he talks about him to others -- for example: Fang, the General, Captain Bligh. But for this study, the term of address is considered as more important.

b. If the name is the same as in #1N, enter the same name here; do not skip.

c. If the names given in #1a and #2a are the same, you do not need to ask "May I call him __________?" You already have called him that.

d. If the respondent says, "I don't call him anything when I talk with him," then indicate this in space and call relative either by first name or (if parent or parent-in-law) by relationship -- your father; Martha's father.

Figure 1

CONTEMPORARY RELATIVES - Case # **H W** **Relative #**

1. Relationship and name (FRIEND: How long have you known ____________?)	R	N
2. a. What do you call him (her)? (b. May I call him (her) ____________?)		
3. How old is ____________? (last birthday)		
4. a. Is he (she) married? Y N ? DIV SEP WID S	(STEP) PAR: Is ____________ still married to & living with your mother (father)? Y N ?	
b. (If married) How long has he (she) been married?		
c. Has ____________ been married before? (PROBE: # of marriages)		
d. (If not now in first marriage) How did ____________'s previous marriage(s) end? (PROBE: To whom and when)		
5. Where was ____________ born?		
6. a. Where does he (she) live now?		
b. Do you know the name of the street?		
7. Where has ____________ lived most of his (her) life?		
8. How often do you see ____________? (Use card)		
9. a. Is ____________ working (outside the home)?		
b. What does he (she) do?		
c. Has he (she) always been a ____________? (PROBE: What other work has he (she) done?)		
10. a. How much education has ____________ had? b. (PROBE: Trade schools, colleges, degrees -- esp. length of courses, and if completed.)	________ years	
11. What is ____________'s religious preference? (PROBE: specific church or denomination)		
12. Is there anything about ____________'s life that stands out in your mind -- anything he (she) has done?		
13. SIBLINGS: How close? ____________		

OVER - 12 ITEMS

12/10/65

#3. How old is he?

- a. Age at last birthday.
- b. If respondent says, "I don't know" then:
  - (1) Write "doesn't know" or DK followed by a dash.
  - (2) Ask respondent for a range: "Between which ages would you say he is?" and write answer followed by a dash.
  - (3) Ask respondent to guess an age in that range and record this answer, e.g., "about 36".

#4a. Is he married?

- a. Ask question in the way in which you feel most comfortable:
  - (1) Is he married, widowed, separated, divorced or still single?
  - (2) In two stages:
    - (a) Is he married?
    - (b) If yes, then followed by "Is he living with his wife?"
    - (c) If no, then followed by, "Is he still single, or is he divorced or widowed?"
- b. Treat parent-in-law as parent.
- c. Can ask question for grandparent in way similar to parent: "Is __________ still married and living together with your grandmother?"
- d. For parents, in-laws, and grandparents, it may not be necessary to ask the complete question for both parents. However, be sure to record the proper response for both parents, etc.
- e. If respondent does not know if relative is married, mark "?".

#4b. How long married?

a. If "don't know how long" then treat same as don't know response for age in #3 (i.e., DK-range-guess).

b. If don't know if married, then write response. E.g., "I haven't seen him for 8 years; I don't know if he is married."

c. If divorced, widowed, ask how long they had been married and when divorce or death of spouse occurred.

#4c. Has he been married before?

a. Ask regardless of current marital status (unless relative is a child).

b. Note number of marriages including current marriage (e.g., In 3rd marriage).

c. If "don't know" record response.

#4d. If not in first marriage.

a. Write name of person to whom married and dates of marriage(s).

b. If name is not known, use #1 then dates of marriage, #2 dates of marriage, etc.

c. If dates are unknown, treat as "don't-know response (i.e., DK-range-guess).

d. Record how each marriage ended (e.g., Mary - 1930-35, wid./Joan - 1942-51, div.).

#5. Where was he born?

a. Obtain city and state. If respondent brings up point that relative's parents were visiting this location briefly or that he was born in transit, record parents' residence at time.

b. If born in rural area, try to determine location of nearest post office and record this town or city and the word (rural) after it.

c. If foreign country, try to determine name of city, town, or rural region.

d. If DK, ask if region known: If respondent guesses (e.g., "I think, etc.") record this qualification.

#6a. Where does he live now?

a. Obtain city and state.

b. If rural area, try to determine location of nearest town or city in which person may receive mail and record this town or city and the word (rural) after it.

c. If foreign country, try to determine name of city, town or rural region.

d. If town is not known, write DK, name of state.

#6b. Do you know the name of the street?

a. Record the name of the street only. We do not need house address.

b. If person lives in a rural area, record route number if known or R R - if unknown.

c. If the respondent does not know the name of the street, record DK.

d. If the respondent knows only the area (e.g., "Northside"), record that.

#7. Where has he lived most of his life?

a. This means most of the person's lifetime, not must most of his married life.

b. Record what is said (e.g., Around Indianapolis, Ind: In the vicinity of Chicago).

c. If rural area, try to determine location or nearest post office and record this town or city and the word (rural) after it.

d. If city or town is unknown, record area (e.g., somewhere in Northeastern Minnesota).

#8. How often do you see him? (See Figure 2)

a. Here you will use the same card previously used in Nuclear Family Relations in asking how often a person helped with the care of the children. (See Figure 2)

b. Ask the respondent to give a letter, then repeat the letter and statement so there is no chance of error (e.g., That's C - Once a week).

c. Interviewer and respondent should each have a card to refer to.

#9a. Is he working?

a. For a woman ask, "Is she working outside the home?" If possibly doing laundry, baby sitting, or typing at home, ask" "Any work for others in the home?"

b. Probe for full or part-time. Wording at discretion of the interviewer. Record approximate length of time if part-time.

c. If works intermittently, record as "Yes" if the last period of employment has been within the past year.

#9b. What does he do?

a. Try to determine job title and actual duties and responsibilities.

b. Try to determine for whom he works. If in business for himself, record this.

c. If job involves supervision of others, try to find out how many persons he supervises (e.g., foreman).

d. Try to find out how long he has held his present position.

e. If respondent does not know what person does, record DK and what is said.

Figure 2

Code for Frequency of Interaction

The answers below refer to the questions about how often you see the relative:

A. Every day

B. Several times a week

C. Once a week

D. Several times a month

E. About once a month

F. Several times a year (3-11 times)

G. Once or twice a year

H. About once every two years

I. About once every three years

J. Less than once every three years

K. Never met him (her)

#9c. Has he always been a __________?

a. Ask for each relative; wording at discretion of interviewer.

b. If "No", probe for other work he has done.

c. Note dates, if possible, for work history (last 10 years) - as well as positions, kind of work, etc. If has worked same 10 years, ask last work done longest.

#10. How much education has he had?

a. This is years completed (e.g., if he quit school when he was a Freshman in High School, he completed 8 years). The respondent may need assistance in computing years.

b. If he has attended a trade school or college, record name of school, length of course and if completed.

c. If there are qualifications, note what is said (e.g., She must have gone to teacher's college because she did teach school. Or he was a barber so he had to have some barber's training).

#11. What is his religious preference?

a. We are asking for denomination(i.e., if respondent gives Protestant as an answer determine whether the person is Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, etc.).

b. If respondent does not know the denomination, ask if person attends a specific church and record the name of the church.

c. If respondent knows the person is a Protestant but does not know denomination or church attended record -- Protestant, DK denomination.

#12. Is there anything about his life that stands out in your mind?

a. Record what the respondent gives you. If the answer is "No" record this. If it is "No" and then qualified, record "No" and the qualification.

b. After recording response, probe further on basis of any information previously given in asides to other questions. (E.g., If respondent should mention in answering question (Where was he born? that he was a Cherokee Indian who nearly died of diphtheria - interviewer could remind respondent of that statement).

c. Take notes and write up immediately after interview.

d. Do not interrupt respondent to probe.

TWELVE ITEM SHEET
(See Figure 3)

#1. On this sheet are twelve statements. The sheet is set up in the same manner as the closeness card we used. You will answer each statement by designating one of the letters, a, b, c, d, e, f, or g that corresponds with your feelings towards __________. Let us suppose you have a fictitious brother named "Charlie," I will go through the entire sheet, to help acquaint you with it, using the name "Charlie." Then we will go through it again for your answers on __________.

Here the interviewer will go through the entire sheet, giving first the statement on the left hand side and then the statement directly opposite. Repeat the first statement prefacing it each time with a heading (e.g., I definitely would invite "Charlie" to weddings, christenings, etc. (b); More often than not I would invite "Charlie" to weddings, christenings, etc. (c); etc.). Do the same with the opposite statement. The second set of statements and the remainder of the sheet may be presented by a random use of only one preface heading for each set of statements (e.g., Respect "Charlie's" advice, Do not care for "Charlie's" advice -- if you Usually do not care for "Charlie's" advice, you would choose (f). Try to avoid "Charlie," Try to see "Charlie" as often as I can -- if More often than not you try to see "Charlie" as often as you can, you would choose (e), etc.)

Ask the respondent to first decide on which side he wants to answer, then to decide how definite he feels about each statement.

Figure 3

Relative # _____ H W

NAME OF RELATIVE: ________________

Case # _____

Relationship: ________________

	Definitely	Usually	More Often Than Not	Not Sure (50-50)	More Often Than Not	Usually	Definitely	
1. Would invite him to weddings, christenings, etc.	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Would not invite him to weddings, etc.
2. Respect his advice	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Do not care for his advice
3. Try to avoid him	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Try to see him as often as I can
4. Can count on his help if I need it	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	He would avoid helping me
5. Would not help him if he asked	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Would go out of my way to help him
6. Feel close to him	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Do not feel close to him
7. What he thinks of me is important to me	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	I don't care what he thinks of me
8. Does not set a good example for children	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Sets a good example for children
9. Would tell him my problems	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Would not tell him my problems
10. Do not get along with him	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Get along with him
11. Feel free to joke or have fun with him	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Do not feel free -- but feel inhibited and self-conscious with him
12. Has played an important part in my life	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Has not played an important part in my life

12/10/65

#2. This sheet is administered for all Contemporary Relatives who are adults. Do not ask these questions for minors.

a. For purposes of this study, an adult is someone who is aged over 16, married, holding a full time job or is a parent.

b. Explain sheet to respondent as in Figure 3.

c. The interviewer should not attempt to explain any of the statements themselves since the answers could be biased by the explanation. Instead, the interviewer should determine what the question means to the respondent. For example:

R: What do you mean by played an important part in my life?

I: If you tell me what it means to you, I'll make a note of it. Then we know how to interpret your answer.

d. In questions dealing with advice, help, or telling relatives about problems, suggest that the respondent think of serious and important problems (and not just day-to-day problems).

e. The respondent may complain that the situation has never come up. (For example, needing help, asking advice, invite to weddings.) In that case, ask him to guess what he would do.

f. There are two kinds of items in the list -- attitudes and activities. Thus, for several items, "definitely" may not describe the extreme statement as well as "always." If the respondent has trouble in this respect, suggest that he think of "always" instead of "definitely" in those instances.

g. The first 12 Item Sheet should be read to the respondent and filled out by the interviewer. From then on the sheet can be filled out by the respondent if he wishes and is sufficiently literate.

h. All completed sheets should be placed out of sight so the respondent cannot refer back to them.

Appendix B

Kinship Characteristics

Table 1

Participation in Kinship Study by Parents of Children Attending Preschools

Extent of Participation	Fathers	Mothers	Total
Number of parents with children in preschools	235	279	514
Unable to contact (e.g., incorrect name or address; left city)	29	18	47
Total number contacted	206	261	467
Number contacted but declined to participate	(44)	(23)	(67)
Reasons given for declining:			
a. Leaving city imminently	9	8	17
b. Too busy	24	9	33
c. Negative reason or no reason given for refusal	8	4	12
d. Miscellaneous reasons for refusal	3	2	5
Number who completed at least one interview	162	238	400
Number of completed series of interviews	157	238	395
Per cent completions of total contacted	76.1%	91.2%	84.6%

NOTE: The participants represent 239 families; in one family the father but not the mother participated.

Table 2

Degree of Closeness and Terms of Address Used for Parents-in-Law, by Socioeconomic Status, White Respondents

Degree of Closeness	Per Cent Using Term			
	High Socioeconomic Status		Low and Middle Socioeconomic Status	
	Kin term	First name	Kin term	First name
Male Respondents				
Mother-in-law				
Definitely close	50%	8%	27%	39%
Usually or More often than not close	38	65	40	48
Not sure or not close	12	27	33	13
N	(26)	(26)	(15)	(31)
Father-in-law				
Definitely close	50	10	27	28
Usually or More often than not close	44	65	36	36
Not sure or not close	6	26	36	36
N	(18)	(31)	(11)	(25)
Female Respondents				
Mother-in-law				
Definitely close	36	47	26	36
Usually or More often than not close	48	26	59	33
Not sure or not close	17	26	15	31
N	(42)	(19)	(27)	(36)

Table 2 (continued)

Degree of Closeness and Terms of Address Used
for Parents-in-Law, by Socioeconomic Status,
White Respondents

Degree of Closeness	Per Cent Using Term			
	High Socioeconomic Status		Low and Middle Socioeconomic Status	
	Kin term	First name	Kin term	First name
Female Respondents				
Father-in-law				
Definitely close	40%	18%	8%	32%
Usually or More often than not close	29	31	72	52
Not sure or not close	31	50	20	16
N	(35)	(16)	(25)	(25)

NOTE: The use of kin terms of address by Negro respondents differed somewhat from those of whites, especially in the use of formal terms of address. Inasmuch as the number of married Negroes in the sample was small, their data were not included in the table.

Table 3

Degree of Closeness to Lineal Relatives in Ascending Generations When Parents Have Been Divorced, for Low and Middle Socioeconomic Status, Negro and White Respondents Combined (Per Cent)

Relative Rated and Marital Status of Parents	"Definitely" Close	"Usually" or "More often than not close	"Not sure" or not close	Total N
Mother				
Parents still married	79%	19%	2%	138
Parents divorced	86	8	6	36
MoMo				
Parents still married	54	35	11	37
Parents divorced	58	25	17	12
MoFa				
Parents still married	53	23.5	23.5	17
Parents divorced	57	29	14	7
Father*				
Parents still married	72	23	5	104
Parents divorced	15	33	52	33
FaMo				
Parents still married	42	37	21	19
Parents Divorced	28	36	36	14
FaFa				
Parents still married	25	37.5	37.5	8
Parents divorced	11	44	44	

---

*Kolmogorov-Smirnov test; parents married versus parents divorced; 2 d.f.; $\chi^2 = 6.00$; $p = .05$.

Table 4

Degree of Closeness to Uncles and Aunts When Parents Have Been Divorced, for Low and Middle Socioeconomic Status, Negro and White Respondents Combined (Per Cent)

Relative Rated and Marital Status of Respondent's Parents	"Definitely" Close	"Usually" or "More often than not close	"Not Sure" or not close	Total N
FaBr				
Parents still married	25%	37.5%	37.5%	72
Parents divorced	5	47	47	19
FaSi				
Parents still married	24	43	33	82
Parents divorced	26	40	34	35
MoBr*				
Parents still married	29	37	34	89
Parents divorced	47	41	12	34
MoSi				
Parents still married	39	35	26	93
Parents divorced	52	30	18	37

---

*Kolmogorov-Smirnov test; parents married versus parents divorced; $\chi^2 = 4.76$; 2 d.f.; $.10 > p > .05$.

NOTE: Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests computed for the following revealed:

Parents married: FaSi versus MoSi; not significant.
FaBr versus MoBr; not significant.

Parents divorced: FaSi versus MoSi; 2 d.f.; $\chi^2 = 4.86$; $.10 > p > .05$.
FaBr versus MoBr; 2 d.f.; $\chi^2 = 8.60$; $p = .02$.

Table 5

Degree of Closeness to In-Laws When EGO Has Been Divorced, for Low and Middle Socioeconomic Status, Negro and White Respondents Combined (Per Cent)

Relative Rated and Marital Status of Respondent	"Definitely" Close	"Usually" or More often than not close	"Not Sure" or not close	Total N
HuSi				
EGO still married	40%	37%	23%	138
EGO divorced	11	30	59	71
HuBr				
EGO still married	23	39	37	137
EGO divorced	5	32	63	41
HuMo				
EGO still married	45	35	20	80
EGO divorced	19	36	45	31
HuFa				
EGO still married	30	49	21	61
EGO divorced	4	40	56	25

Table 6

Terms of Address Used by Negro Women for
Paternal and Maternal Grandparents

Term of Address	Father's Parents	Mother's Parents	Total
Grandmothers:	FaMo	MoMo[d]	
Both Grandmothers Known[a]			
Grandmother (or equivalent)[b]	12	6	18
Mother (or equivalent)[c]	5	10	15
One Grandmother Known			
Grandmother (or equivalent)[b]	3	11	14
Mother (or equivalent)[c]	1	5	6
Total	21	32	53[e]
Grandfathers:			
Both Grandfathers Known			
Grandfather (or equivalent)	11	7	18
Father (or equivalent)	2	6	8
One Grandfather Known			
Grandfather (or equivalent)	3	8	11
Father (or equivalent)	2	5	7
Total	17	26	43

[a] Gamma for terms of address as related to FaMo and MoMo when both grandmothers known is .60.

[b] Includes such terms as Gramma, Grandma, Granny, or last name of grandmother.

[c] Includes such terms as Ma, Mummy, Mom, or first name.

Table 6 (continued)

Terms of Address Used by Negro Women for Paternal and Maternal Grandparents

[d] Gamma for terms of address of MoMo when both are known versus only MoMo known is .57.

[e] In nine cases grandfather remarried and both grandmother and step-grandmother included in analysis. Only 15 grandmothers or step-grandmothers alive at time of study.

Table 7

Knowledge about Occupations of Male Relatives, Aged 25-59, Outside Family of Procreation, Male and Female Respondents Combined, by Socioeconomic Status, Race, and Frequency with which Relative is Seen

Frequency with which Relative Seen	Per Cent for Which Occupation Known by Respondent		
	Low SES	Middle SES	High SES
Relative Seen at Least Once a Week			
White			
Per Cent	84%	97%	100%
Total N	(32)	(32)	(16)
Negro			
Per Cent	83	87	--
Total N	(75)	(13)	--
Relative Seen Less than Once a Week but at Least Several Times a Year			
White			
Per Cent	92	94	91
Total N	(49)	(140)	(161)
Negro			
Per Cent	69	64	91
Total N	(49)	(28)	(11)

Table 7 (continued)

Knowledge about Occupations of Male Relatives, Aged 25-59, Outside Family of Procreation, Male and Female Respondents Combined, by Socioeconomic Status, Race, and Frequency with which Relative is Seen

Frequency with which Relative Seen	Per Cent for Which Occupation Known by Respondent		
	Low SES	Middle SES	High SES
Relative Seen from Once or Twice a Year to about Once Every Three Years			
White			
Per Cent	77%	88%	94%
Total N	(43)	(123)	(250)
Negro			
Per Cent	65	78	--
Total N	(68)	(18)	--
Relative Seen Less than Once Every Three Years			
White			
Per Cent	67	70	79
Total N	(30)	(57)	(82)
Negro			
Per Cent	37	--	--
Total N	(87)	--	--

NOTE: Percentage computed only where total N exceeded 10.

Relatives included in this table are: MoBr, Fa, FaBr, SiHu, Br, WiBr, HuBr, and HuFa.

Table 8

Family Characteristics and Increase in Child's IQ from Age Four to Age Seven

Family Characteristics	Mean Increase in IQ	N
Race		
White	9.6	17
Negro	6.5	31
Household Composition		
Mother only adult	5.6	20
Other adult in addition to mother	9.0	28
Marital status of Mo		
Married and living with husband	8.8	24
Divorced, separated or never married	6.6	22
Widowed	3.5	2
Number of daughters in family		
None or one	10.1	16
Two	8.1	15
Three or more	4.8	17
Total number of children		
Two or three*	8.2	17
Four or five	10.8	16
Six or more	3.5	15

---

*Because families were selected for preschool program from school records indicating the presence of a preschool child in the home, there were no families with one child.

Table 9

Age Means on Parental Developmental Timetable for Items Pertaining to Teaching the Young Child to Accept Responsibility (By Child's Sex, Race, and Socioeconomic Status)

Race, Sex, and SES	26. Keep room tidy	17. Accept postponement	18. Take bath alone
WHITES (Boys)			
Low SES	5.39	5.53	6.00
Middle SES	3.96	4.15	5.38
High SES	4.35	4.23	5.32
NEGROES (Boys)			
Low SES	6.03	6.10	6.48
Middle SES	5.24	5.88	5.94
WHITES (Girls)			
Low SES	5.29	5.50	5.95
Middle SES	3.81	4.12	5.33
High SES	4.27	4.11	5.22
NEGROES (Girls)			
Low SES	5.90	6.09	6.38
Middle SES	4.88	5.82	5.94

Table 10

Age Means and Variances on Parental Developmental Timetable for Item 45, the Appropriate Age to Teach Hiding Nudity from Strangers, and Item 35, Appropriate Age for Sexual Segregation in the Toilet (By Child's Sex and the Race and Socioeconomic Status of Respondents)

Race, Sex, and SES	Nudity		Sexual Segregation	
	Mean Age	Variance	Mean Age	Variance
WHITES (Boys)				
Low SES	3.29	1.45	4.34	1.58
Middle SES	3.73	6.10	4.79	2.30
High SES	4.20	9.36	5.80	8.48
NEGROES (Boys)				
Low SES	3.34	1.37	4.07	2.55
Middle SES	3.41	1.76	4.35	1.49
WHITES (Girls)				
Low SES	3.21	1.25	4.24	1.27
Middle SES	3.71	6.01	4.76	2.36
High SES	4.19	9.48	5.75	8.55
NEGROES (Girls)				
Low SES	3.25	1.77	4.03	2.46
Middle SES	3.35	1.37	4.24	0.94

Appendix C

Sample Characteristics

Table 1c

Formal Education of Respondents, by Sex and Socioeconomic Status (Per Cent)

Kind of Schooling Completed	Total Years of Schooling Completed	Socioeconomic Status		
		Low	Middle	High
	Women Respondents			
Elementary	5-8 years	19.7%	2.4%	--
Some high school	9-11	39.4	4.8	1.2%
Completed high school	12	29.6	33.3	10.8
Some college	12-15	5.6	23.8	27.7
College graduate	16	--	19.0	30.1
Some graduate work	17-19	5.6	15.5	27.7
Advanced graduate work	20 or over	--	1.2	2.4
Total number		71	84	83
	Men Respondents			
Elementary	5-8 years	25.0	--	--
Some high school	9-11	29.2	1.6	--
Completed high school	12	33.3	13.1	4.2
Some college	13-15	8.3	13.1	1.4
College graduate	16	4.2	14.8	12.5
Some graduate work	17-19	--	29.5	38.9
Advanced graduate work	20 or over	--	27.9	43.1
Total number		24	61	72

Table 1d

Religious Identity of Respondents, by Sex and Socioeconomic Status
(Per Cent)

Religion Reported	Socioeconomic Status					
	Women Respondents			Men Respondents		
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
Catholic	5.5%	20.2%	15.7%	4.2%	13.1%	15.3%
Jewish	--	4.7	4.8	--	6.6	6.8
Protestant	(88.9)	(60.8)	(56.6)	(87.6)	(67.2)	(55.6)
No denomination given	2.8	4.8	4.8	12.5	4.9	4.2
Episcopalian	2.8	2.4	4.8	4.2	3.3	6.9
Congregational	1.4	1.2	4.8	--	1.6	5.6
Presbyterian	1.4	9.5	14.5	--	18.0	12.5
Methodist	21.4	22.6	13.3	16.7	21.3	15.3
Lutheran	1.4	2.4	8.4	--	8.2	6.9
Christian; Church of Christ; Disciples of Christ	5.6	2.4	1.2	--	--	1.4
Baptist	46.5	9.5	3.6	50.0	6.6	2.8
Other Protestant denominations and sects	5.6	6.0	1.2	4.2	3.3	--
Non-Protestant and Non-Christian religions or denominations	2.8	8.2	7.2	--	4.9	4.2
Atheists and Agnostics	2.8	6.0	15.7	8.3	8.2	18.1
Total Number	71	84	83	24	61	72

Table 1e

Place of Birth of Respondents, by Sex and Socioeconomic Status (Per Cent)

Place of Birth	Socioeconomic Status					
	Women Respondents			Men Respondents		
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
Champaign County	22.5%	13.1%	7.2%	41.7%	13.1%	4.2%
Illinois or Indiana (but outside Champaign County)	23.9	40.5	24.1	8.3	37.7	37.5
Central Illinois (bounding Illinois and Indiana)[1]	5.6	13.1	22.9	--	13.1	11.1
North West Sector of U.S.[2]	--	2.4	2.4	--	--	4.2
North East Sector of U.S.[3]	--	8.3	15.7	4.2	14.8	16.7
South East Sector of U.S.[4]	1.4	1.2	2.4	--	1.6	4.2
Mississippi Valley (on Illinois Central Railroad)[5]	36.6	8.3	2.4	41.7	3.3	4.2
South West Sector of U.S.[6]	7.0	4.8	4.8	--	6.6	4.2
Outside Continental U.S.	2.8	8.3	18.1	4.2	9.8	13.9
Total Number	71	84	83	24	61	72

---

[1] Central States include Wisconsin, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, and Iowa.

[2] North West Sector includes Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, South Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

[3] North East Sector includes Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia.

[4] South East Sector includes West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.

Table 1e (continued)

Religious Identity of Respondents, by Sex and Socioeconomic Status (Per Cent)

[5] Mississippi Valley includes Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Alabama.

[6] South West Sector includes Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Kansas, Colorado, and Utah.

Table 1f

Number of Years Prior to Interview that Women Respondents Had Moved to Champaign-Urbana, by Socioeconomic Status (Per Cent)

Number of Years Residence in Champaign-Urbana	Socioeconomic Status Low	Middle	High
0 - 5 years	17.1%	44.0%	34.9%
6 - 11	27.1	31.0	38.6
12 - 17	15.7	7.1	14.6
18 or over	21.4	6.0	7.2
Born in Champaign-Urbana	18.6	11.9	4.8
Total Number	70	84	83

Table 1g

Age of Respondents, by Sex and Socioeconomic Status
(Per Cent)

Years of Age	Socioeconomic Status					
	Women Respondents			Men Respondents		
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
20 - 23 years	11.3%	8.3%	--	8.3%	1.6%	--
24 - 27	26.8	26.2	8.4	16.7	9.8	5.6%
28 - 31	22.5	32.1	32.5	33.3	34.4	19.4
32 - 35	12.7	13.1	26.5	12.5	21.3	27.8
36 - 39	15.5	6.0	13.3	4.2	21.3	25.0
40 - 43	8.5	10.7	10.8	4.2	6.6	12.5
44 - 47	2.8	3.6	8.4	12.5	3.3	6.9
48 or over	--	--	--	8.3	1.6	2.8
Total Number	71	84	83	24	61	72

Table 1h

Number of Years Married Reported by Women Respondents by Socioeconomic Status (Per Cent)

Length of Current Marriage[1]	Socioeconomic Status		
	Low	Middle	High
Not legally married	5.6%	1.2%	--
0 - 3 years	5.6	1.2	2.4%
4 - 7	33.8	41.7	26.5
8 - 11	19.7	33.3	34.9
12 - 15	16.9	9.5	20.5
16 - 19	7.0	8.3	9.6
20 - 23	4.2	3.6	6.0
Total Number	71	84	83

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[1] Includes legal separations and second marriages.

Table 1i

Number of Children in Respondents' Families, Reported by Women by Socioeconomic Status (Per Cent)

Number of Children	Socioeconomic Status		
	Low	Middle	High
1	7.0%	26.2%	13.3%
2	15.5	41.5	41.5
3	22.5	21.4	27.7
4	12.7	9.5	19.2
5	12.7	3.6	4.8
6 or more	29.6	7.1	2.4
Total Number	71	84	83

Table 1j

Presence of Persons not in Respondent's Family of Procreation Living in Home, Women's Responses, by Socioeconomic Status (Per Cent)

Presence of Outsiders in Home	Socioeconomic Status		
	Low	Middle	High
None	81.6%	91.7%	92.8%
One or more	18.4	8.3	7.2
Total Number	71	84	83

Appendix D

Factor Analysis of Torgoff Developmental Timetable

The Parental Developmental Timetable, developed by Irving Torgoff formerly at the Merrill-Palmer Institute, is useful for determining norms in age-grading. For a list of 48 activities, parents are asked what they "think is the most appropriate age at which boys and girls may be expected to begin to manage different situations." The instructions to the parents cautions them to respond in terms of "what *you* believe the age *should* be" rather than "the age at which something actually did occur to a child you know or . . . what you have seen some parents do." The analysis of the Parental Developmental Timetable consisted of a factor analysis and a comparison of mean ages and their variance particularly of items with high loadings on the first factor.

The responses of 397 parents interviewed in the Champaign-Urbana kinship study were submitted to principal axis factor analysis, with a varimax rotation applied to those factors in which the latent root exceeded 1. The data for boys and for girls were submitted to separate analyses. Thirteen factors were included in this rotation for both boys and girls, and of these, six could be interpreted. The seven uninterpreted factors were found to have only one or two items with high loadings following the rotation. The similarity in findings for boys and girls derive from the fact that parents showed sex differentiation in their responses only occasionally.

The items with high loadings on the six interpreted factors are shown in Table D-1. These factors were: (1) the development of a possessive and controlled self, (2) teaching about personal danger, (3) teaching child about care of clothes, (4) teaching child about ethical principles, (5) teaching child about bodily care and concern, and (6) mature financial and social responsibility. These factors together explain 42.2 per cent of the total variance, with the first factor explaining 16.7 per cent, the second an additional 8.9 per cent, and the third factor 5.4 per cent. The first factor seems most relevant for the analysis of age-grade norms as related to kinship, and the remainder of the discussion of findings will be devoted to this factor.

Table D-1

Factor Loadings for Parental Developmental Timetable of Responses for Girls and Boys

Factors and Items	Factor Loadings	
	Girls	Boys
Factor I: Appropriate Age to Begin Teaching the Development of a Possessive and Controlled Self		
23. Begin to teach their child that taking something from others -- without permission -- is wrong	.79	.79
27. Begin to teach their child to share his toys	.79	.71
26. Begin to train their child to keep his room tidy	.69	.70
17. Begin to train their child to accept postponement without making a fuss	.69	.69
18. Begin to allow their child to take a bath with no adult supervision	.61	.66
29. Begin to discourage their child from crying over minor disappointments	.64	.51
19. Begin to train their children not to get "make-believe" and "pretend" mixed up with real life	.48	.50
Factor II: Appropriate Age to Begin Teaching about Personal Danger		
36. Begin to allow their child to light a burner on the stove without adult supervision	.73	.67
34. Begin to allow their child to use sharp scissors with no adult supervision	.69	.62

Table D-1 (continued)

Factor Loadings for Parental Developmental Timetable of Responses for Girls and Boys

Factors and Items	Factor Loadings	
	Girls	Boys
25. Begin to allow their child to cross busy streets where there is no traffic light or traffic officer	.63	.66
20. Begin to allow their child to remain at home alone during the day, if he wants to	.52	.57
16. Begin to allow their child to sleep overnight at the home of a neighbor friend whose parents they know	.48	.49
38. Begin to teach their child how to use a sharp knife at the dinner table	.45	.43
43. Begin to allow their child to go swimming with a friend of his own age	.44	.40
Factor III: Appropriate Age to Begin Teaching Child about Care of Clothes		
42. Begin to train their child to hang up clothes right after they are taken off	.73	.73
44. Begin to encourage child to dress himself without help	.68	.67
38. Begin to teach their child how to use a sharp knife at the dinner table	.56	.60

Table D-1 (continued)

Factor Loadings for Parental Developmental Timetable of Responses for Girls and Boys

Factors and Items	Factor Loadings	
	Girls	Boys
41. Begin to allow their child to choose for himself what clothing he will wear during the day	.53	.52
39. Begin to let their child settle by himself the fights he has with children of the same age and size	.49	.48
Factor IV: Appropriate Age to Begin Teaching Child about Ethical Principles		
40. Begin to teach their child that it is wrong to cheat	.82	.80
8. Begin to teach their child to feel that it is wrong to lie	.81	.80
12. Begin to teach their child that it is wrong to break a promise	.77	.78
Factor V: Appropriate Age to Begin Teaching Child about Bodily Care and Concern		
45. Begin to teach their child not to appear naked in front of strangers	.76	.77
5. Begin to correct their child who messes with his food	.73	.69
35. Begin to teach their child not to enter a toilet when it is being used by a child of the opposite sex	.67	.70

Table D-1 (continued)

Factor Loadings for Parental Developmental Timetable of Responses for Girls and Boys

Factors and Items	Factor Loadings	
	Girls	Boys
11. Begin to teach their child not to use their fingers when eating	.48	.42
19. Begin to train their children not to get "make-believe" and "pretend" mixed up with real life	.43	.44
Factor VI: Appropriate Age to Begin to Promote Mature Financial and Social Responsibility		
10. Begin to allow their child to spend money the child earns in any way the child wants even if it seems wasteful to the parents	.68	.53
15. Begin to make their child aware of the cost of objects the child damages	.54	.63
14. Begin to allow their child to go out on a "date" if the crowd of friends will be along	.49	.57

Items with a high loading on Factor 1 seem to be related to the development of possessiveness and internal control in the emergence of a self. The items highly loaded on Factor 1 denote, first, a sense of possession (taking things and sharing toys), second, a sense of responsibility and self-control (keeping room tidy, accepting postponement, and bathing alone), and third, a sense of reality (discourage crying and discerning make believe from reality. It is noteworthy that items pertaining to concepts of personal property and self-control are highly intercorrelated. This correlation implies that the self as an object of one's own actions (i.e., "me") is created out of the concept of personal property (i.e., what is "mine" and "not-mine") and that self-control is a mechanism for protecting this self-property. The roles of possession and responsibility in personal development have been pointed out by several observers. Charles Horton Cooley placed much emphasis upon possessiveness in the development of the self. He associated the sense of "my" with the person's identity--my name, my family, my friends, my property, and so on. On the other hand, Jean Piaget indicated the importance of rules by children as "sacred and obligatory" to be of special importance in their moral development. Piaget regards the development of a sense of duty as a prelude to autonomy.

The remaining five interpreted factors can be regarded as an elaboration of the first factor. They pertain to specific kinds of obligations and responsibilities. Factor 2 has to do with personal danger, Factor 3 with the care of clothes, Factor 4 with learning ethics, Factor 5 with bodily care and concern, and Factor 6 with learning financial and personal responsibility.

The analysis of items in Factor 1 pertains to the means and variances of ages which parents regard as appropriate for children to learn or to be taught various activities. The analysis of means presents a problem of deciding when a difference is meaningful. For younger ages (i.e., to age six or so), differences of about a year will be interpreted as meaningful. The analysis of variances is directly relevant to the decision as to whether or not an age-grade norm exists. When there is a large age variance for a particular item, then apparently no general age-grade is present; a small variance would be taken as evidence of the existence of an age-grade norm in the population. For younger children, arbitrarily, a variance of less than 4, yielding a standard deviation of less than two years, will be interpreted as reflecting the existence of an age-grade norm.

The timing of items in Factor 1 may be relevant to understanding the role of social stratification in self-development. Table D-2 shows that the development of the idea of possession seems to occur at about the age of two or three, regardless of socioeconomic status. Among white children, there is a slight

Table D-2

Age Means on Parental Developmental Timetable for Items in Factor I; Appropriate Age to Begin Teaching the Development of a Possessive and Controlled Self (by Child's Sex, Race, and Socioeconomic Status)

Race, Sex, and SES	23. Do not.take things without permission	27. Share toys	26. Keep room tidy	17. Accept postponement	18. Take bath alone	29. Discourage from crying	19. Discriminate "make-believe" from real life
WHITES (Boys)							
Low SES	3.52	2.79	5.39	5.53	6.00	5.39	5.58
Middle SES	3.11	2.66	3.96	4.15	5.38	4.04	4.69
High SES	3.29	2.68	4.35	4.23	5.32	4.30	5.44
NEGROES (Boys)							
Low SES	3.90	3.34	6.03	6.10	6.48	4.69	7.12
Middle SES	3.88	3.41	5.24	5.88	5.94	5.24	6.59

Table D-2 (continued)

Age Means on Parental Developmental Timetable for Items in Factor I; Appropriate Age to Begin Teaching the Development of a Possessive and Controlled Self (by Child's Sex, Race, and Socioeconomic Status)

Race, Sex, and SES	23. Do not take things without permission	27. Share toys	26. Keep room tidy	17. Accept postponement	18. Take bath alone	29. Discourage from crying	19. Discriminate "make-believe" from real life
WHITES (Girls)							
Low SES	3.53	2.76	5.29	5.50	5.95	5.39	5.55
Middle SES	3.10	2.65	3.81	4.12	5.33	4.01	4.70
High SES	3.27	2.64	4.27	4.11	5.22	4.28	5.48
NEGROES (Girls)							
Low SES	3.90	3.31	5.90	6.09	6.38	4.74	7.13
Middle SES	3.82	3.35	4.88	5.82	5.94	5.29	6.47

tendency for the idea of possession to be expected later by low status than middle or high status parents. Negro parents did not show this trend, but generally expected their children to share toys and take things only with permission a little later than white parents.

In spite of the similarity among the different socioeconomic groupings in age at which possessiveness is expected, the extent to which this expectation constitutes a norm differs. The results on age variances are shown in Table D-3. For white parents there was actually little difference in variances by socioeconomic status. For Negro parents, however, there was a wide discrepancy of variances by socioeconomic status; low status parents had variances of around ten, while middle status parents had variances of about one. The findings relevant to development of responsibility are described in the text.

Table D-3

Variances on Parental Developmental Timetable for Items in Factor I; Appropriate Age to Begin Teaching the Development of a Possessive and Controlled Self (by Child's Sex, Race, and Socioeconomic Status)

Race, Sex, and SES	23. Do not take things without permission	27. Share toys	26. Keep room tidy	17. Accept postponement	18. Take bath alone	29. Discourage from crying	19. Discriminate "make-believe" from real life
WHITES (Boys)							
Low SES	1.77	1.25	4.89	4.09	4.22	3.60	3.33
Middle SES	.85	4.73	2.33	2.31	2.92	6.33	3.94
High SES	1.37	1.03	2.48	3.31	2.94	6.69	15.60
NEGROES (Boys)							
Low SES	10.52	9.91	11.19	12.73	9.66	10.50	12.14
Middle SES	1.61	2.13	4.19	5.49	2.43	5.32	6.38

Table D-3 (continued)

Variances on Parental Developmental Timetable for Items in Factor I: Appropriate Age to Begin Teaching the Development of a Possessive and Controlled Self (by Child's Sex, Race, and Socioeconomic Status)

Race, Sex, and SES	23. Do not take things without permission	27. Share toys	26. Keep room tidy	17. Accept postponement	18. Take bath alone	29. Discourage from crying	19. Discriminate "make-believe" from real life
WHITES (Girls)							
Low SES	1.77	1.16	4.43	4.64	4.05	3.60	3.44
Middle SES	.84	4.71	1.98	2.28	2.84	6.36	3.94
High SES	1.38	.96	2.48	2.53	2.83	6.72	16.20
NEGROES (Girls)							
Low SES	11.01	9.90	11.18	13.20	9.47	10.69	12.40
Middle SES	1.65	2.12	3.61	5.53	3.31	5.97	6.64